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CHURCH QUARTERLY REVIEW.

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ART. I.—RELIGION IN CAMBRIDGE.

1. *Life of Edward White Benson, sometime Archbishop of Canterbury.* Edited by A. C. BENSON. Two Volumes. (London : Macmillan and Co., 1899.)
2. *Life and Letters of Brooke Foss Westcott, sometime Bishop of Durham.* Edited by A. WESTCOTT. Two Volumes. (London : Macmillan and Co., 1903.)
3. *Life and Letters of Fenton John Anthony Hort, D.D., D.C.L., LL.D., sometime Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge.* Edited by A. F. HORT. (London : Macmillan and Co., 1896.)
4. Articles in the *Nineteenth Century* by ANTHONY DEANE. October and December 1895.
5. *The Cambridge Mission to South London : A Twenty Years' Survey.* Edited by A. AMOS and W. W. HOUGH. (Cambridge : Macmillan and Bowes, 1904.)

COMPARED with the Cambridge of the first half of the nineteenth century the present University is a highly complex organism, on which it is almost impossible to generalize. Its component elements are so various, the different currents of opinion so diverse, that to answer in a few words a question as to its religious condition at any particular time is a practical impossibility. The attempt to give any idea of the state of opinion on this important subject within the limits of a brief

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article is one which naturally demands an apology on the part of the writer who is rash enough to make it, and perhaps his best excuse can be found in the fact that a similar effort was made with perhaps some success to depict the trend of religious feeling in Oxford. But Oxford and Cambridge, despite their strong superficial resemblance, are strangely diverse, and demand very different treatment. The two ancient Universities are, and always have been, under influences entirely distinct from one another; and they are no more alike than are two friendly nations whose government, civilization, and culture seem to an outside observer to be practically identical. The two Universities diverged from one another at a very early period, and no revolutions have been able to change the *genius loci* of either. Men like Sir Thomas More in the sixteenth century or Archbishop Laud in the seventeenth are as easily recognizable as products of Oxford as Cardinal Newman or the late Master of Balliol. It would perhaps be as impossible to imagine these great men at Cambridge as it would be to think of Cranmer, Newton, Bentley, or Whewell at Oxford. It is easier to illustrate than to define the difference of spirit which has always separated the men trained by the clear-flowing Isis and those educated on the banks of the half-stagnant Cam.

The general impression left on the mind of the present writer by the article on Religion in Oxford which appeared in the *Church Quarterly Review* of October 1902, was that the decay of religious feeling in that University was attributable partly to the frivolous spirit which pervades the leisured classes of society, and partly to a widespread desire among thoughtful men to have the teaching of Christianity recast so as to be more in harmony with contemporary thought. Neither of these causes would apply with equal truth to Cambridge. Despite the fact that she has trained no small proportion of men whose birth has entitled them to take from early youth a leading position in the country, the sentiment of Cambridge has never been aristocratic, but rather that of the thinking middle class. Religious indifference, if it exists, cannot be attributed to want of reflection, especially among men who are in earnest, and the class of

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men without some serious aim in life is, we believe, rapidly decreasing in both the older Universities.

The desire to see religious truths restated is perhaps less strong in Cambridge than at Oxford. Possibly this is due to the fact that the prevalent spirit in the former University is rather in favour of investigation than of reconstruction, and that there is an impatience of theorizing before the premises are thoroughly established. At any rate books like *Lux Mundi* and *Contentio Veritatis* do not emanate from Cambridge, nor is it probable that the Cambridge essays which have recently been announced as in preparation will resemble the earlier productions of the Oxford school. It is characteristic of the two Universities, that while Oxford asks for and endeavours to supply a restatement of Christian truth, Cambridge rather demands to be shown that Christianity is true, and that its retention is desirable. Paley's *Evidences* are now pronounced to be hopelessly out of date; but it is significant that they still form part of the Previous Examination. The mathematical tradition is still potent, and it is not forgotten that Paley was senior wrangler in 1763. Consequently his *Evidences of Religion* are included with arithmetic, algebra, and geometry in the mathematical section of the 'Little Go.' A Cambridge training prompts men to ask for proof, not for restatement. Hard indeed is it to exaggerate the unconscious way in which the Cambridge mind is influenced by the now almost remote past when the sole avenue to academic distinction was 'the Tripos,' as the mathematical examination was always styled.

Classical studies themselves were until recently moulded by mathematical ideals. The knowledge of the historian and the thoughtfulness of the philosopher were held in slight estimation compared to the rigid accuracy of the 'pure classic.' The fame of the classical tripos rested on the impossibility of mere ingenuity, originality, or brilliancy blinding the eyes of the examiners to the fact that the candidate was a slovenly or inaccurate scholar. Its most finished product was a mathematician who had devoted his attention to the ancient languages.<sup>1</sup> And now, though 'the Tripos' has fallen from its high estate, though far more men read for natural science

than mathematical honours, though new triposes are constantly springing up, the old spirit is still alive and active. Thus it comes to pass that modern theology is still at Cambridge under the spell of the old mathematical tripos. Naturally it looks to facts rather than fancies, and many Cambridge men have a strong disposition to consider textual criticism as the most important branch of divinity.

The present theological school owes its origin to the three great men, whose names will always be held in honour—Lightfoot, Westcott, and Hort. All were brilliant classical scholars, but at the same time all were successful in their studies in mathematics or in the natural sciences. Each, however, had a different kind of influence on the University. Lightfoot was perhaps greater as an historian than as a theologian. His vast learning, his singularly acute judgment, and his luminous style were great qualifications for the task he set himself in unravelling the tangled skein of early Church history. Since the days of Bentley no English scholar has administered so severe a castigation to an amateur of literary criticism as Lightfoot did to the author of *Supernatural Religion*. Yet, splendid as his services to theology were, we cannot look to him for much assistance in dealing with the religious problems of the age beyond supplying a vast store of material in the form of facts, and in showing how many *a priori* fallacies may be dealt with. But, great as Lightfoot was as a scholar, he was even greater as an influence for good. Men noticed his untiring energy as a student, his lovable simplicity as a man, and his transparent sincerity as a Christian; and it is not too much to say that during the 'seventies' no appeal made to undergraduates by the Lady Margaret Professor was allowed to go unheeded. In many respects Dr. Hort's influence was less than that of his colleague, since his singular fastidiousness and modesty prevented him from giving much to the world. Yet he had no small share in moulding Cambridge thought. His *Life* shows him to have been a whole-hearted admirer of F. D. Maurice and an advanced thinker for his time; and, although he was undoubtedly reserved, his sympathies were probably wider than those of either Lightfoot or Westcott.

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The most powerful influence of this trio of scholars was certainly that of Westcott. His long tenure of the Regius Professorship, his fervid zeal, his mysticism, his singularly interesting appearance, made him a striking figure in Cambridge life. Moreover, he possessed many gifts of a statesman and a ruler of men. He had a definite policy which he pursued with unfaltering tenacity of purpose, and both the merits and defects of the Cambridge school are due to the way in which he carried his plans to the end he desired. An orthodox divine and an advanced Liberal, Westcott strove to make Cambridge theology as comprehensive as possible, and the one effect of his labour has happily every appearance of becoming permanent: namely, that in the Cambridge school of theology men of the most different religious views have been able to work in perfect harmony. The Church of England has had no monopoly in it, nor have her members ever grudged the laurels won by their Nonconformist or Roman Catholic co-workers. Ever since 1884 laymen and Nonconformists have been admitted as examiners for the Theological Tripos. At the Theological Society scholars meet with the same freedom of intercourse as the members of the Philosophical and Classical Societies. The completion of the *Historia Lausiaca* by Dom Butler, O.S.B., was celebrated by a small dinner at the Benedictine House at Cambridge, at which monks and priests, Anglican clergymen and laymen, and a Presbyterian professor, congratulated the editor on the conclusion of his arduous task. The book itself was dedicated to the memory of a brilliant young clerical fellow of Christ's (Mr. Forbes Robinson), who, alas! has been recently taken from us. Equally appreciative were Cambridge theologians of every denomination of the work of Mr. Rendel Harris, whose decision to work in the Woodbrooke settlement instead of in the University was generally deplored. Another of the fruits of the policy of Professor Westcott remains in the Clergy Training School. He cherished a great apprehension that the system of theological colleges would tend to alienate the English clergy from the Universities, and to make them a separate caste in the community. It was consequently his object to keep men as

much as possible under Cambridge influences till they were ordained, and with this object he instituted the Clergy School. It has remained faithful to its traditions of moderate churchmanship, but it is questionable whether circumstances have not made it impossible to continue it on the lines laid down by its founder. In the opinion of many it has become somewhat like other theological colleges, an institution primarily concerned in enabling its members to pass the bishops' examinations, rather than a society designed to encourage ordinands to pursue the higher studies of the University. The present Principal's scheme of having Associates may possibly tend to bring the school back to its early ideal.

It is remarkable that, despite the powerful impression made by the three great divinity professors upon the University, the present professoriate exercises but little influence upon the life and thought of the place. In many respects the tenure of the Regius Professorship by Dr. Swete has been as successful as the Cambridge career of his predecessor. If inferior in originality, in enthusiasm for theological study Dr. Swete has not fallen short of the high standard set by Dr. Westcott, and Cambridge under him is doing for the Septuagint what the previous generation did for the New Testament. He has also shown a sympathy for young scholars which few professors have hitherto exhibited. Unlike most of his predecessors, the present occupant of the Regius Chair has endeavoured to make his lectures both interesting and serviceable to men desirous of entering into Holy Orders, and has frequently chosen subjects suited to the capacity of the average man who has no ambition to become a professional theologian. Nevertheless the religious influence of the professoriate as a whole is but little felt in the University, and the faculty scarcely enjoys the high respect it did in the past.

This may be attributed to a variety of causes, but mainly to the fact that the conception of theology now prevalent among the professors does not really touch the practical side of life. The strictly non-party attitude taken by Westcott, Lightfoot and Hort is maintained by the professors who

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grew up under their influence, without, however, the watchful care shown by Dr. Westcott especially for what were conceived to be the best interests of the National Church. With a laudable anxiety to show that theology is a science, the present professors seem in danger of forgetting that it must be either practical as a living power or merely an interesting anachronism. A glance, for example, at the list of professorial lectures for the coming year will be sufficient to show that no provision is made for any distinctively Anglican teaching. The subjects are either critical or exegetical. The Prayer Book and the Articles of Religion are completely ignored. There is a Professor of Ecclesiastical History; but he has since his appointment in 1893 confined himself to the first four or five centuries, and has not, we believe, delivered a single course on the history of the English Church. Nor have the professors made any serious attempt to deal with the religious difficulties of the age. While a college lecturer on Moral Philosophy has attracted very large audiences by the announcement of his intention to lecture to non-experts on the relation of his subject to Christianity, none of the professors have made a similar attempt to instruct the large number of people in Cambridge who, though undecided in opinion, are anxious for authoritative teaching on the truth of religion. Content as they are with a cautious orthodoxy, the divinity professors are not, we believe, sought out as guides by those who are in perplexity. In some cases their aloofness from Church interests is painfully apparent. When Dr. Westcott instituted the Preliminary Examination for Candidates for Holy Orders, he allowed no press of business to prevent his looking at the papers, and he was frequently assisted by some other Cambridge professor. For some considerable time no one holding a Chair of Divinity has taken his place among the Cambridge examiners.

The same thing is observable in the case of the Clergy Training School. Whereas till quite recently Dr. Westcott's example of taking part in the work of instruction was followed by his successors, now, despite a few occasional addresses by members of the faculty, the duties of instructing the clergy

of the future are being relegated more and more to the Principal and Vice-Principal of that institution.<sup>1</sup> So marked is the abnegation of all responsibility in regard to the duty of training the future ministry of the Church on the part of the divinity professors that no strong feeling was aroused when a layman, who had won the greatest distinction in other fields of study, was nearly chosen to fill the Norrisian Chair, intended originally for the teaching of Dogmatics. Except the Regius Professor, not one of the present staff has been at the head of a parish, and consequently it is necessary that Pastoral Divinity should be handed over to a University lecturer, who gives one course of lectures a year at a stipend of 50/. The willingness of most professors, however, to attend college theological discussions and to help devotional societies is most praiseworthy.

In colleges, happily, great interest is taken in the spiritual welfare of the men, and the care usually shown in the selection of deans and chaplains is highly commendable. Even those fellows who have but little sympathy with religious interests realize the importance of putting the right man into the responsible position of college dean, and in the rare case of there being no clerical fellow, the lay deans seem to realize the serious nature of the duties of the office at least as fully as those who are clergymen. Lay as well as clerical heads of houses are scrupulous in attending the daily services in the college chapels. In spite of all that has been said regarding the neglect of the religious interests of undergraduates in the colleges of the University, the writer believes that in the great majority of cases the authorities cannot be charged with any lukewarmness in this matter. In one case, where the agnostic element among the fellows of a particular college is believed to be very strong, no expense has been spared to maintain the dignity and beauty of the services, and the utmost pains have been taken to secure men in Holy Orders whose influence is likely to prove salutary. Such loss as the Church of England has sustained

<sup>1</sup> It is but just to say that the present Master of Pembroke (Dr. Mason), when Lady Margaret Professor, gave three very good dogmatic instructions recently at the Clergy Training School.

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by the throwing open of the colleges has been in a measure compensated for by the absence of a type of clerical fellow of former days whose view of his sacred calling was sometimes decidedly lax, and by the increased energy of the few men still in Orders. As regards efficiency the clerical fellow at the present time, especially if he has had a little experience away from Cambridge, has the advantage of being as a rule more in touch with the young men than many of his lay colleagues. It is a singular fact that the management of most of the social or athletic institutions in the University is in the hands of the clergy. The boat club has a clerical treasurer; the president and treasurer of the cricket club are in Holy Orders. A clergyman manages the Rugby football and the athletics; another, the affairs of Association football. The late Master of Magdalene was among the founders of the C.U.R.V.; the present Master of Caius, as colonel, raised the corps to a high pitch of efficiency, and his successor, the present Dean of Trinity Hall, maintained and even increased its numbers. The *Cambridge Review*, though mainly supported by the scholars of Trinity and King's, whose tendencies are certainly not 'churchy,' has been entrusted to two clerical presidents in succession. In several colleges the dean is regarded as being almost the *ex-officio* organizer of public and social functions. Thus, though clericalism, or the least symptom of it, is certain to provoke resentment, the utility of clerical fellows is generally admitted, and the opportunities of doing good within the reach of a young and able man in Orders are practically unlimited. Let him only show himself natural and unaffected, absolutely sincere and self-respecting, ready to sacrifice time and leisure for the good of others, and he will find that he is sure of the hearty support at least of every undergraduate in his college.

One result of the present state of things is scarcely satisfactory, and there are indications of peril ahead. The popular qualities demanded of clerical fellows encourage popularity-hunting, and a dean or chaplain who falls into this snare is liable to injure alike his own reputation and that of the Church. A don who gains the reputation of being specially



lenient to 'blues,' whose talk is athletic gossip or boating 'shop,' not only forfeits the respect of his colleagues and contemporaries, but that of the younger men. Serious mistakes have been made by colleges in electing as deans or fellows men who were believed to be acceptable to the 'pass-man.' As a matter of fact the ordinary undergraduate has a very high ideal of what a 'don' ought to be like, and has little or no respect for one who owes his place to social or athletic rather than to intellectual qualities.

The opportunities for worship and religious instruction provided by the colleges have been very freely criticized, but hardly any person is qualified to give an opinion on the subject. Few indeed are those who know fully about more than a single college chapel. The comparative weakness of the sermons delivered to undergraduates is frequently commented upon, and the greatness of the opportunity so seldom realized is a common theme. But it is doubtful whether any one who had had long experience of addressing undergraduates in his college chapel would be inclined to find fault with others or to criticize the way this important duty is performed. A sense of his own shortcomings ought to prove a restraining influence, and even if this were absent, the knowledge of the failure of others would act as a deterrent. If some moving preacher, some entrancing orator, some persuasive teacher, who has the reputation of removing the difficulties of the most stubborn sceptic by his convincing arguments, were to address the congregation of a college chapel and then be privileged to hear the verdict of some of the more intelligent of his auditors, it would make him a sadder if not a wiser man. For the criticism of a young man of quick intelligence and no experience of life is the refinement of cruelty. Those, however, who talk glibly of the way preachers in our colleges should deal with great religious problems are probably not so aware of this fact as those who have ministered long years among undergraduates. To preach successfully in college chapel is to accomplish no ordinary feat. Cleverness is but little appreciated, up-to-dateness is rather despised than otherwise, prolixity is abhorred, the least approach to vulgarity in word

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or treatment of the subject is at once detected. But no man ever preached in vain who spoke a few manly words from the heart, especially if his life were known to be in accordance with his teaching. The college services are generally reverently performed, and the behaviour, especially at the early morning services, is exemplary. Symptoms of impatience or irreverence may occasionally be observed during a long service on Sunday, and more rarely at an evening service during the week. This may be attributed to the presence of those to whom attendance at college chapel is a matter of discipline. The question of compulsory chapels is, however, perhaps less to the front than it was a few years ago. The regulations of most colleges in this matter are not very stringent, and, if administered with tact and discretion, do not as a rule press heavily on anyone. In cases where a man is genuinely unsettled in his religious opinions, his college dean generally treats his scruples with respect; attendance at a roll call is in some cases allowed to supply the place of the chapel service, and the spirit of the University Test Act is carefully observed. As a rule, those in trouble with the college dean for irregularity in keeping chapels are in difficulties with their tutor for other reasons.

The chapel in most colleges is utilized for something more than services at which attendance is compulsory. The Holy Communion is celebrated at least weekly in probably every chapel, and in addition to the ordinary services devotional services, especially for ordinands, are not infrequent. Nearly every dean or chaplain in a college takes the opportunity of giving religious instruction to those who desire it. Where the services are elaborate and of the cathedral type, paid singers are generally employed, but in the smaller colleges the singing is mainly voluntary, and where there is an efficient organist, great keenness is shown by the members of the choir. The choir of St. Catharine's is an example of what can be done in a small college when two of its fellows are enthusiastic musicians.

It is the writer's belief that the smaller colleges are as a rule more anxious for the religious interests of their students than the larger foundations. Where there are but a few

fellows in residence the majority seem to make a point of going to college chapel at least once on Sunday, and some tutors are often present at the daily services. But many fellows in the larger colleges seldom attend, and their indifference has deleterious results. The dominant position of Trinity is so marked a characteristic of Cambridge that its attitude on any subject is of interest to the whole University. It is well known that steps recently taken there have materially affected the policy of the college in religious matters. It has been decided that henceforward the deans of Trinity need not be men in Holy Orders: the chaplains, a separate foundation, have been reduced from four to two: and the whole subject of Theology in a college with fully six hundred students is now represented on the staff by a single lecturer. In distinctions in Theology during the past ten years Trinity, despite its enormous superiority in numbers, stands below Pembroke, Jesus, St. John's, and King's, while the two first-named colleges can show at least two distinctions each in this subject for every one gained by Trinity. The neglect of theological learning in the largest and most famous college of the University is one of the most discouraging signs of the times; and it is not impossible that if it were to be realized how the college of Westcott, Lightfoot, Hort, and many leading lights of Cambridge divinity in the past, has allowed its religious teaching to fall behind that of other colleges, the college itself might also lose somewhat of its pre-eminence. The present Master, by his use of the opportunities of his position, by his sermons and by his general influence, has done something to avert this danger.

The influence exercised by the town churches is almost certainly on the wane. No parochial clergyman has been able to attract large numbers of students as was often the case a quarter of a century ago. In fact the undergraduate is no longer a churchgoer. Unless the preacher is exceptionally eloquent or popular the University sermon has but few auditors. The vicar of Great St. Mary's used to secure large congregations at late services to hear well-known preachers, but these sermons have, we believe, been discontinued for at least five years. If the co-operation of a

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body of undergraduates could be ensured, it might be worth while to attempt to revive them.

The Nonconformists in Cambridge are both numerous and active. In almost every college their societies are represented, and, upon the whole, they work in unison with one another. The day when a Dissenter who had received a university education drifted almost unconsciously to the Church is past. Nothing is more marked than the determination on the part of the Free Churches to keep their best men. The Nonconformist Union is a large and intelligent body. The Leys School is a centre of Methodism. Great care is taken to secure able and eloquent ministers for the different chapels. Presbyterianism is strong under the fostering care of Dr. Alexander MacAlister, the Professor of Anatomy, whose attachment to his religious principles, combined with his great and varied learning, has a salutary influence; and he is ably seconded by his kinsman, one of the tutors of St. John's. The presence of Westminster College in Cambridge certainly adds to the prestige of Presbyterianism.

The Roman Catholic community, despite the splendid church built by the late Mrs. Lyne Stephens, is not believed to be strong in mere numbers; but its leaders are much liked and respected in University circles. There is a satisfactory absence of sectarian bitterness among the different religious bodies, and the college authorities are generally thankful for the way in which the religious interests of those undergraduates who are not members of the Church of England are cared for.

Having given what must necessarily be a hasty and imperfect sketch of the religious opportunities provided in Cambridge, it follows that an attempt should be made to depict the attitude of the different sections of the community towards Christianity.

Till the time of the last University Commission, Cambridge, like Oxford, was a clerical body, the lay fellows being in a distinct minority. Now the reverse is the case; it is the clergyman who is the exception. The professors, tutors, and lecturers are consequently much like other professional men

in regard to religion. Their pursuits do not naturally lead them to take any particular interest in the subject, and while some at Cambridge, as elsewhere, are really religious men, a few are directly antipathetic, and the majority comparatively indifferent. It must be remembered that a large proportion of those who teach in Cambridge have no responsibility for the moral welfare of their pupils; they are not college authorities, and their work ceases when their lectures or demonstrations have been given. This is eminently true of the Science school, which, perhaps inevitably, is more interested in the University at large than in its particular colleges. A considerable proportion, therefore, of the teaching staff of the University has very little direct influence on religious opinion.

Yet it is impossible to ignore the power of the increasing body of scientists in the University. In energy, in enthusiasm for their subjects, the natural science teachers are honourably conspicuous, but it is to be feared that a large proportion of them have but scant respect for anything ancient in the University except the endowments, which some at least are suspected of wishing to divert from their original purpose for the enrichment of laboratories and workshops. The increasing antagonism between the scientific and literary schools of the University is furnishing a problem, the solution of which will demand qualities which neither side has hitherto shown much readiness to exercise. It is most desirable that the religious teachers in the University should not finally commit themselves to either side, though their natural proclivities would make them incline to that of literature. While doubtless many scientific students have assumed an agnostic position, it by no means follows that Cambridge science is antagonistic to Christianity. Stokes, Cayley, Adams, are three conspicuous examples of great pioneers of science being earnestly religious, and their tradition is by no means abandoned. Moreover, men of science exhibit, as a rule, much interest in religious questions, and are always ready to listen when their favourite studies are treated with intelligence and sympathy by teachers of religion. The tendencies which at one time were so strongly in the direction of materialistic philosophy have in a measure ceased, and thinkers are rather drawn towards a pantheistic

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conception of the universe. It is to be regretted that there is hardly a single theologian now in Cambridge who has endeavoured to regard religious problems from a scientific standpoint, and it would be highly desirable if a few brilliant young men were to leave the somewhat worn paths of textual criticism and exegesis, and strike out a new one in this direction.

Moral philosophy in Cambridge has never flourished so widely as at Oxford owing to the absence of a school resembling 'Greats,' but the moral science tripos, with its much divided classes and few candidates, does not give a just measure of the school, since most of those who have interested themselves in philosophy have taken classics. Regarded as a whole, the philosophers are not sympathetic to Christianity, and the subject has hardly been represented hitherto on the Christian side. But a lectureship in the philosophy of religion has been instituted by the generosity of Professor Stanton, and a new section of the theological tripos has been formed which it is hoped will induce men to devote more attention to the subject.

The 'intellectual' school may at present be described as consisting of a few brilliant young men at Trinity and King's, whose opinions find utterance in the *Independent Review*. Its religious views are agnostic and even anti-Christian. The men of whom it is composed are full of high aspirations and unselfish aims. Several of them give up much of their leisure to promoting the spread of education among the workmen of London. They carry on the tradition of those in the 'seventies' who gave up their Orders in the Church of England and all the advantages of their position for the sake of their convictions. Naturally the views of the men of the present generation are more extreme than those of their predecessors, but they are animated by the same spirit. Though they can be extremely courteous to their colleagues in Holy Orders, their bias is anti-clerical; the influence they exert is widespread, and the ranks of agnosticism are recruited by young men of promise, who easily lay aside what religious impressions they may have received at their public schools on seeing that men to whom they are inclined to look up have



apparently 'out-grown' them. There is not much community of thought between the 'intellectuals' and the natural scientists.

It cannot fail to escape attention that the different scientific schools are variously affected towards Christianity. Among the physicists there are certainly men with strong religious convictions, while it is believed that physiological studies seem to foster agnosticism, and that young chemists incline to materialism. Mathematical studies do not seem as a rule to remove the religious impressions of early life, though they result in a mental attitude towards theology to which allusion has already been made.

The question of how far Biblical and literary criticism have affected the younger generation is one to which perhaps no satisfactory answer can yet be given. The fact that some of the ablest theological students at both Universities continue their studies without taking Holy Orders shows that one result of modern methods is to make men increasingly averse from committing themselves to any definite system of belief. The desire expressed among many thoughtful and religious men that there should be at least one Divinity professorship open to laymen is due to the same cause. There is a feeling that before anything can be done in support of Christian views their foundations must be thoroughly investigated, and this causes a reticence on the part of some prominent teachers, which may be regretted, but must, at the same time, be respected, wherever it is due to honesty rather than to timidity. At present, however, the majority of theological students appear to be bewildered rather than impressed by the new views, and it seems certain that on this account the study of the theology is actually discouraged in certain religious circles.

While noticing and deploring the many anti-religious tendencies of modern Cambridge, it is impossible not to recognize the fact that religious activities beyond the current of academic life are unceasing, and we believe that these activities would be but little impaired by legislative or other reform. The immense strength of Evangelicalism since the days of Simeon has always been apparent in Cambridge. The Students' Volunteer movement is active; there is great

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enthusiasm for the work of the Church Missionary Society; daily prayer meetings are attended in the Henry Martyn Hall. The majority of the devotedly Christian young men in Cambridge are probably Evangelical in their views; certainly this party is most in evidence. Ridley Hall was never so prosperous as at present, and it is under the guidance of a remarkably wise and capable principal. The strength of the party is not derived from any academic source. There are not, as formerly, several men of strong Evangelical views among the resident fellows of colleges; but this does not seem to make any great difference. The Evangelicals are active, capable, and self-sufficing. They do excellent work in the town, especially among young men and lads. They conduct services, teach in schools, and seem to have no difficulty in getting men to help them. They hold aloof from other religious movements. A man of pronounced Evangelical views is perhaps not often so regular an attendant at the services of his college chapel as he ought to be. He prefers some church in the town. His interest in his college mission is conditional on the work being carried on in accordance with his own tenets. Nor is he sympathetic towards the intellectual influences of the place. He may be, and often is, an industrious man with excellent abilities. Possibly he may take a good degree. But he is little interested in what other men are thinking about. He is content with the truth he considers himself to possess, and has no desire to assimilate new ideas. Able and deserving of admiration as many Evangelicals in Cambridge are, they do not exercise much influence on thinking men, though their sincerity seldom fails to secure respect. Holy Trinity Church is the great centre of this party.

Cambridge has no centres of influence for High Churchmen, such as the Cowley Fathers and the Pusey House form at Oxford; and since the death of Canon Slater, no leader has exercised any strong personal magnetism. The three 'ritualistic' churches do not attract undergraduates; and though the vicar of St. Giles gets some of the ablest preachers in England to give addresses there in Lent and Advent, some eighty men come to hear them, whereas 'an address to

'Varsity men' or 'a straight talk to undergraduates' at Holy Trinity would be fairly sure to attract a large number. A small circle of King's men have recently done much good work in connexion with the parish of St. Mary's the Less, one of the three churches in the town where vestments are used. Several working lads have been led to think of Holy Orders, and the education of one young man too poor to go to the university is being personally superintended by these earnest men. The S.T.C., once a powerful High Church organization, is not now of much weight owing to the reputation some of its members have of being over-interested in minutiae of Church government and ritual.

Broad Churchmen are disposed to rally round Professor Gwatkin, and Archdeacon Wilson's visits to Cambridge are much appreciated by them. The strength of this party is rather among the younger teachers in the university than undergraduates. Its tendencies are not, as at Oxford, philosophical, but rather incline towards textual criticism and exegesis. The present Dean of Westminster and Bishop Ryle of Winchester, would have had considerable influence in drawing men of liberal opinions together had they not been called to occupy higher, if in some ways less difficult, positions in the Church, than that of representative professors in a great university. It is to be hoped that the guidance of men inclined to a 'liberal' theology in the best sense may fall to Dr. Chase, who, having filled the office of Vice-Chancellor for the past two years to the satisfaction of every one, is about to resume his work as Norrisian Professor.

Any survey of the religious condition of a university like Cambridge would be incomplete without an allusion to the work of the College Missions in South London. The writer of this article was much struck by the remark of a leading parish priest in London, that his Oxford curates seemed most attached to their University, whilst the Cambridge men's affections were rather centred in their respective Colleges. This helps to explain why Cambridge House in Camberwell has never been anything like the Oxford House in Bethnal Green. Cambridge is powerless to arouse the deep feeling in the heart of an old member of that university which Oxford

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does in that of an Oxonian. On the other hand, the college feeling is intensely potent. This is perhaps due to the fact that at Cambridge few men go from college to college. The fellows who compose most Oxford colleges are chosen from the University at large. Those of a Cambridge college are as a rule, so to speak, home-grown. The consequence is that Cambridge men will do for their colleges what they would not dream of doing if appealed to in the name of the University. The effect of this feeling is seen in the fact that the work of the university in South London consists of isolated college missions, helped, but not sustained, by the Cambridge House.

The college missions are mainly supported by members of the colleges not in residence, and there seems to be an impression in Cambridge that the interest in them is less keen among undergraduates than formerly. This is not unnatural; the movement was inaugurated with a great deal of enthusiasm, and now that the novelty has a little worn off, and the missions are established institutions, the first fervour has somewhat abated. Nevertheless, it is quite capable of being revived, since there is no real lack of interest in the needs of poorer London, and a certain number of men still continue the practice of working in their college mission during the vacations.

The average man, who belongs to no particular school and makes no great profession of religion, forms the bulk of the University. Without being distinctly poor, he is as a rule by no means well off, and often is well aware of the fact that, when his pleasant three years' period of residence are over, he will have to depend on his own exertions for a livelihood. His instincts are not strongly religious, and tend to conform to the tone of the society to which he belongs—that of ordinary, decent, well-conducted men.

He is not particularly intellectual, but he is neither an idler nor a fool. If he has the brains to get a good place in the tripos, he does not generally miss it for want of application. He is conscious of the fact that his future depends on himself, and he is on the whole regular and diligent. Unless he is exceptionally proficient in them, games do not occupy

an undue proportion of his time. No impression can be more false than that the majority of Oxford and Cambridge men are shallow triflers or semi-professional athletes. In speaking of them as average men, we do so with a belief that in the qualities which make good useful citizens the average is distinctly high.

It is often a cause of surprise that the number of ordinands furnished by Cambridge is so small in proportion to what it was formerly. To those who know something of the state of the Church and country, and also of English society, the cause for wonder is that the supply is so well maintained. Less than fifty years ago nothing was to be learned in an ordinary university course but what qualified a man for the three professions of clergyman, lawyer or doctor. The scholastic career was reserved for young clergy of good brains and no interest. A clergyman could look forward to a decent, if not large, income when he obtained a benefice, and the duties he was expected to perform were not particularly heavy. A man who at the present time enters upon the clerical career knows that he has, as a rule, to expect to be overworked and underpaid. Many better prospects are before him. Cambridge offers him a preparation for a variety of callings which were either non-existent or thought derogatory in the days of his father. The science and engineering schools open many chances of earning a livelihood. Does he wish to embark on a mercantile career, he can study economics. The universities now supply a large proportion of the administrators of our Indian Empire. Egypt demands Oxford and Cambridge men. Everything is being done by the War Office to secure graduates for the army. And yet in some colleges a large proportion of men still take Holy Orders, and where the number is small the fact is often to be traced to some well-defined cause.

The problem is how to maintain a good supply of fit candidates for the ministry of the Church of England at the older universities in the face of serious and inevitable disadvantages, and also to retain the influence of the Church in these ancient centres of learning in England. The days for hoping or fearing much from future legislation are passed.

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At Cambridge, at least, the Church of England must stand or fall on her own merits. Happily she is not committed to any party, nor has there been of recent years a clerical and anti-clerical faction in University politics. Nor would the Church gain at Cambridge by the ascendancy of any political party. She is fortunately working in more harmony with other religious bodies than anywhere else in England. The dangers which encompass her are quite different from what might be supposed. Some it is beyond her power to avert; against others it is not too late to provide a remedy.

The evidence accumulated in this article tends to show that the Church is not in all respects well represented in Cambridge, and that her influence is not altogether what it might be. The present condition of the theological school is scarcely satisfactory. The five divinity professorships<sup>1</sup> and the Hebrew chair are confined to clergymen of the Church of England: consequently she has a splendid opportunity of presenting her teaching in its clearest form to hundreds of young men, members of her communion, and presumably brought up under her influence at home and at school. But, as has already been noticed, with the exception of the present Regius Professor, none of them has really undertaken to address himself specially to members of the Church of England. No one can impugn their orthodoxy, or assert that the other professors have put forward any heretical views. They have walked in the paths laid down by their immediate predecessors and have taught with the theological tripos mainly in view, or read lectures out of books they have in preparation. But as all candidates for Holy Orders are expected to attend two or more professorial lectures, and will soon have a longer course provided for them, it might be well if the professors gave some lectures suited to the clergy of the future. It was never intended that they should delegate the teaching of dogmatics to the Clergy Training School, or of Pastoralia to a University lecturer. Let them by all means pursue their critical and exegetical studies. Let them give lectures to theological experts and invite men to

<sup>1</sup> It is an open question whether, according to the letter of the statute which governs it, a layman can or cannot hold the Norrisian professorship.

the pursuit of research. But at Cambridge they are primarily needed to establish a real school of Anglican divinity, to expound the creed and teaching of the Church, to explain her liturgy, and to show how the position of a Christian thinker may be maintained. Why should not the Lady Margaret Professor revert to the work of Blunt and Selwyn, and lecture on pastoral theology; the Norrisian apply himself, as Dr. Swainson did, to creeds and dogmatics; the Hulsean teach, as the founder intended, apologetics? This would leave the Ely Professor free to expound the New Testament, and the Regius Professor might be at liberty to choose his own subject. The present tradition of moving divinity professors from chair to chair makes it impossible to have an ordered system of teaching in the university.

We have no desire to convert the faculty into a mere clergy school. The requirements of the bishops' examining chaplains are studied in theological colleges, and it is better that university professors should have an honour school in view than a mere pass examination. But we do ask that Anglican professors should give the best exposition of the Christian religion in their power, that they should be in the strictest sense theologians, not textual or higher critics (in the correct and not in the popular sense of the term). We need fewer 'Westcottians' and more men imbued with Westcott's spirit. It is not only Churchmen who complain; men who are anything but friendly to Christianity are heard to declare that in Cambridge justice is scarcely done to the arguments in favour of the Christian position. We do not require the professors to be less learned; we ask rather that they should attain to that clearness of exposition which comes of a mastery of the subject, and that the topics of more of their lectures should be a practical help to men. It is among the duties and the privileges of a professor in a great university to inspire and train the scholars and students of the next generation. But much of this more technical and advanced instruction is best given in Seminar work and in 'post-graduate' courses; the body of men from whom the audience at a professor's ordinary lecture may be drawn is a far wider one. Few of them, probably, will ever become specialists,

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but most are capable of being inspired with some interest in the subject. We do not suggest that they should be supplied with ready-made answers to all the problems which are beginning to present themselves to them, or that the methods of teaching should be framed too rigorously either in accordance with a stereotyped tradition, however excellent, or, on the other hand, with the latest Continental models ; but we do want the guidance and assistance of experienced scholars in the difficulties of the present day, and young Churchmen need to be shown the vital importance of theology, and why they should remain what the Prayer Book calls 'loyal, peaceable, and conscientious sons of the Church of England.'

From whatever cause, the difficulties of the present day seem more insistent and more widely felt. No one who reads the early chapters of the Lives of Bishop Westcott and Archbishop Benson can fail to be struck by the way in which those distinguished men, though reared in lay families amid business surroundings, were yet trained in an atmosphere of Christian thought. We are told in the Preface to Bishop Westcott's Life that he had to pass through a period of religious doubt ; but one would scarcely have guessed this from a perusal of his diary and letters. Those of Dr. Benson hardly suggest that any one of his acquaintances, save his Unitarian uncles, ever dreamed of questioning the orthodox teaching respecting the Bible, the Sacraments, and the like. The existence of scientific or even social problems is scarcely touched on. Newman's sermons, the relation of the Church to Dissent, the use of the canonical Hours, were the subjects which occupied the attention of the most brilliant of the scholars of Trinity in the 'forties.'

Let anyone read the chapters alluded to, and then compare the letters quoted in them with the following letter written a few months ago by a scholar of a Cambridge college at the close of his period of residence in the university, after a distinguished course in both classics and theology. It is in reply to a letter from a college tutor, from whom he had requested an opinion of *Anticipations* by Mr. H. G. Wells :

'I was interested to hear of your impressions of *Anticipations*. I agree with you that we are on the verge of a great tyranny on the



part of science, and especially medical science. Have you read about the so-called "Eugenics" Society? One of its objects is the sterilisation of the unfit. However necessary this may prove to be in the future, it is far nearer to the ideals of the mediæval Church than to the nineteenth century. A Socialistic scientific tyranny would be as exacting as the mediæval Church, and yet would not turn men's thoughts heavenwards. "Unfit," by the way, is interpreted to include criminals and paupers. We may also expect an enormous increase in vexatious sanitary regulations. Wells' predictions as to the decay of the old middle class, and the rise of a new middle class, consisting of electricians, motor-car men, &c., are all too probable. The following forces seem to me to be likely to exercise a modifying influence: 1. The various forms of religion and idealism must always, if true to themselves, war against materialism. 2. Materialism is not the last word of science. The growing attention to mental science is hopeful, as the incalculable factor of the human heart is introduced. Certainty in psychological investigations is impossible, and scientific dogmatism must be modified. 3. The sturdy Protestantism of England will oppose a scientific tyranny as gladly as an ecclesiastical. There are anti-vaccinators as well as passive resisters. France is far more likely than England to be the first home of the new scientific era. 4. The fall of the birth rate will probably continue. Western Europe has evolved a highly civilised animal too expensive to live. Meanwhile the less civilised races increase and multiply. Asia is awakening. The twentieth century may well see great wars, which will disturb the orderly evolution of the scientific Paradise.'

If such are the problems which a remarkably able young man on the verge of taking Holy Orders feels it necessary to face, how important is it that the official representatives of the Church of England should be prepared to lecture on the living facts of modern life.

The duties of clerical fellows are at least of equal importance with those of the professors, if the influence of the Church of England is to be maintained. They have, in the first place, to remember that whereas in old days it seems to have been assumed that any man in Holy Orders who had distinguished himself in mathematics would probably make a good divinity professor, it by no means follows that the ability to win a high degree in mathematics or any other subject enables a man at the present day to master theology

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without severe study; and no clerical fellow is of real use unless he is somewhat of a theologian. He is often the better for having taken his degree in a non-theological subject, but if he is to be of service he must make a special study of the religious thought of the day. He must be ready to give an answer for the hope that is in him as a Christian, and for his position as a Churchman.

The difficulties of his position are great. He must be careful to avoid extremes. In Cambridge the pedantry of a parson is as fatal to a man's influence, though not so harmful, as is a completely secular view of life in a clergyman. The clerical resident fellow should have had at least some experience of parish life outside Cambridge. He should owe his fellowship as little as possible to the fact that he has already been, or that he intends to be, ordained. It is the writer's firm belief that the college system in fit hands is still of the utmost value to the Church.

But any attempt to foster clericalism at the expense of the studies of the university is certain to fail. The Church of England has at the present moment a great opportunity, but she must shew herself fit to avail herself of it, or the chance will pass out of her hands. It is but just to say that she has never shown any disposition to claim more than her due, nor to encroach on the rights of others.

A great many men of all parties in Cambridge are desirous of making every effort to enable their university to take the lead in the education of the future. Some believe that many changes are necessary to make Cambridge equal to the task. The criticisms which the writer has felt it incumbent upon him to make on the theological professors are equally applicable to those who preside over other branches of learning, since the working of the professorial system in Cambridge is in too many cases far from ideal; but he has spoken freely in the hope of seeing the faculty of theology leading the way in the general improvement of university teaching. A great school of theology would attract more men to Cambridge, and the example of the English Church would excite the emulation of other religious bodies: for, while we do not wish in any way to disparage

the work of non-graduate theological colleges, many of which are doing most excellent work in the face of great difficulties, the more Christian ministers there are who receive a sound university education the greater, as it seems to us, is the hope for our national Christianity.

There is one factor in the future development of education which all thinking men must regard as serious, and that is the tendency to consider everything from a materialistic and commercial standpoint. No true scientist can be in favour of educational schemes which look only to the pecuniary advantages, for he is well aware that the price of such a system would be the practical cessation of all progress in knowledge. But the spirit of our time is so impregnated with this regard for material interests that at no distant date we may have a demand for education mainly in such subjects as lead directly to money-making. Nobody in Cambridge at least desires commercialism to take the place of the academic spirit, but this is really at the bottom of the constant pressure from without which strives to force the university to sacrifice literary to scientific studies. And though religion and science are not hostile to one another, at any rate in Cambridge, the whole spirit of religion is opposed to education without ideals higher than those of an ordinary commercial venture. For this reason we desire to see a strong school, if not schools, of theology in the university, as well as the presence of men of zeal and ability, ready to devote their lives to the service of God and the benefit of their fellow-men without hope of reward beyond a modest competence.

It is of great importance, if the ancient universities are to become once more the source from which the Church of England draws her clergy, that the expenses should be as reasonable as possible; but here there are many misapprehensions abroad. It is often assumed that it is not possible to obtain an education in either university at a less cost than from 200*l.* to 300*l.* a year. This is entirely erroneous; with care the three terms need not cost more than 150*l.* at many colleges in Cambridge, and at some considerably less. The practice of amalgamating all college clubs has further placed most of the social advantages of university life within the

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reach of men of limited means. A poor man can thus become, and very often is, a leading man in his college, and nothing need debar him from indulging in most reasonable recreations.

The non-collegiate system is capable of extension, and is much cheaper than that of most colleges. There is really no reason why a large number of candidates for Holy Orders should not avail themselves of it. A chaplain has been appointed, and much is being done to encourage a corporate spirit among non-collegiate students in Cambridge by making their headquarters at Fitzwilliam Hall into a social centre for them. In one diocese, at least, men are being sent to the university in this way by funds subscribed at present chiefly by the clergy; but hopes are entertained that the movement to educate men for the ministry may spread among the wealthier laity if its first ventures prove satisfactory. It certainly appears desirable that the older universities should, where possible, be utilized in this way. Selwyn College, though its numbers are increasing, is deserving of more encouragement than it at present receives. The recent successes of its men, especially in theology, are a proof of the satisfactory character of the instruction which it provides.

It is said that men are in great danger of losing their faith at the university, and the authorities are naturally blamed for this. But in common fairness it must be said that they are not solely responsible. An Eton master's wife was once heard to complain that parents sent their sons to the school to be made gentlemen of, whereas home training alone can do that. The same applies in a measure to the matter now under discussion. Is it reasonable to expect a young man at the most receptive age of his life to pass through three years of life in a place disturbed by every current and cross-current of opinion without being seriously unsettled, unless his principles rest on very firm foundations? A university by necessity is a hot-bed of new ideas, of intellectual perplexities, nor has it ever been otherwise. Yet the wise prelates of the Middle Ages preferred that their clergy should pass through the ordeal of university life rather than be trained in the placid security of a monastery, and founded colleges at both Oxford

and Cambridge with this object. And to-day a university career is for many a thoughtful man a trial to his faith, but one by which, if he emerges unscathed, he is immensely benefited. But he must be well prepared for it. And it is after all not a very satisfactory result of our boasted religious training in the public schools, that their most brilliant products so frequently drift into agnosticism directly they come in touch with university life and thought. Nor can the ordinary middle-class home, with its profession of Christianity as a respectable religion and, too often, its practical disregard of its ordinances, be regarded as a good preparation to enable the young to resist the temptations of life. If parents really cared for the spiritual education of their children, they would surely discourage the laxity in regard to religion which is, alas! so characteristic of many a modern household; and they would be more vigilant as to the anti-religious influences under which their sons may be brought at the university.

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## ART. II.—THE CHRISTIAN SOCIETY.

## I. THE JEWISH COMMUNITY.

1. *Geschichte des Jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi.*  
Von D. EMIL SCHÜRER, ordentl. Professor der  
Theologie zu Göttingen. Dritte und vierte Auflage.  
(Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1898-1902.)
2. *Die Religion des Judentums im Neutestamentliche Zeitalter.*  
Von D. W. BOUSSET, ord. Professor der Theologie an  
der Universität Göttingen. (Berlin: Reuther und  
Reichart, 1903.)
3. *Textes d'Auteurs Grecs et Romains relatifs au Judaïsme*  
Par THÉODORE REINACH. (Paris: E. Leroux, 1895.)
4. *De Synedriis et Praefecturis iuridicis ueterum Ebraeorum.*  
JOANNIS SELDENI. (Amstelaedami: ex officina Henrici  
et Theodori Boom, et viduae Joannis a Someren, 1679.)
5. *De Synagoga vetere libri tres.* CAMPEGII VITRINGAE.  
(Franquerae: Typis Johannis Gyzelaar, 1696.)
6. *A Dictionary of the Bible.* Edited by JAMES HASTINGS,  
D.D. Extra volume. (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark,  
1904.) Artt. *Diaspora*, by E. SCHÜRER; *New Testament*  
*Times*, by F. BUHL.

ANY attempt to investigate the origin and development of Christianity as a society should begin with an examination of the Jewish environment out of which it grew. The very name *ecclesia*, which Christianity has in an especial degree made its own, was applied to the Jewish community, and, like almost all the early Christian terminology, was ready to hand, only requiring that its content should be enlarged and enriched. The new community grew out of the old. Our Lord Himself claimed to be fulfilling and completing the purpose of the old society; only in a very limited sense did He speak of a new departure. If the Apostles were in one sense conscious of their new life, in another sense they all emphasize their continuity with the past. Their whole mental environment and all their early training was cast in

Jewish forms, and naturally, therefore, it was mainly under the influence of Jewish ideas that the early Christian communities grew up. Afterwards, no doubt, they were influenced by Gentile surroundings, and the extent of that influence will demand very careful investigation; but it is a later phase. It was out of Judaism that the Christian Church grew, and it is the Jewish Church which demands our first attention.

It is proposed, therefore, in the following pages to investigate how far the conception which we describe by the name of a Church was realized or latent in the Jewish nation at the time when Christianity first began; to discuss the history of the word *ecclesia*; to describe the principles involved in the idea of Judaism and the organization, whether central or local, of the Jewish community. By collecting these facts together independently it will be possible to discuss later to what extent they have influenced the Christian organization.

# I.

The Jewish race at the time of our Lord was among the most remarkable phenomena in the ancient world. Their strong character, and the tenacity with which they clung to their customs and religion, make them conspicuous in a world in which an easy compliance with the religion and morals of others was the rule. Their ubiquity and exclusiveness separated them from all other races, and if any Greek historian had taken the trouble to investigate their antiquities, instead of contenting himself with repeating a number of discreditable legends, he would have found them even more remarkable. Though the centre of their race and religion was at Jerusalem, it is probable that the Jews of the Dispersion far outnumbered the Jews of Palestine. 'Every land and every sea is full of thee,' said the Sibyl, about the year 140.<sup>1</sup> 'Their glory had gone forth to the end of the earth,' said the writer of the Psalms of Solomon.<sup>2</sup> 'It would not be easy to find a place in the world,' wrote Strabo, 'which has not received their race, and is not ruled by it.'<sup>3</sup> 'The Jews are

<sup>1</sup> *Orac. Sib.* iii. 271.

<sup>2</sup> *Ps. Sol.* i. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Strabo *ap.* Jos. *Ant.* XIV. vii. 2 (Reinach, p. 51).

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so numerous,' said Philo, 'that they inhabit all the most prosperous cities of Europe and Asia, on the islands and on the mainlands alike.'<sup>1</sup> It is not necessary to enumerate very precisely the cities where we hear of their existence. There were large and populous colonies in Mesopotamia, in Egypt, in Syria and Asia Minor. They were collected particularly in every commercial centre, and there were few important cities of the Greco-Roman world where they could not be met with.<sup>2</sup>

This singular people might be looked upon as a Race, a Nation, or a Church. Originally, of course, they were a race, and the pride and exclusiveness of race had never been lost. The Jews boasted that they were the descendants of Abraham: 'We have Abraham to our father.'<sup>3</sup> In consequence of this descent they were a privileged people; by virtue of it alone could they inherit all the promises made to their great ancestor, and (as many held) it was only for those of Jewish descent that there was any entrance to the most fundamental religious privileges. But this exclusiveness had been within certain limits broken down. There were, in fact, two distinct tendencies. There was a party which would confine all privileges to the Jews by descent only, who were averse to making proselytes, or at any rate to making proselytes outside the sacred limits of Palestine, and in whose hopes and dreams of the future the only place for the Gentiles was as subject peoples to do homage and act as slaves to the proud descendants of Abraham. This tendency always existed in Palestine, representing, as we are told, the teaching of the school of Shammai; it became more prominent during the years immediately preceding the fall of Jerusalem, when the bitterness of feeling had become exasperated, and has been exhibited in full force in later Judaism. The spirit of exclusiveness eventually triumphed. But side by side

<sup>1</sup> Philo, *In Flac.* 7.

<sup>2</sup> On the Dispersion generally see Schürer, *Geschichte* (ed. 3). iii. 1-102; and in Hastings *B.D.*, Extra volume, pp. 91-109.

<sup>3</sup> Matt. iii. 9; cf. Luke i. 55, John viii. 33, 39, Acts xiii. 26, Rom. ix. 7, xi. 1. *Ps. Sol.* ix. 17 ὅτι οὐ ἡπερίσω τὸ σπέρμα Ἀβραὰμ παρὰ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη.

with this there was a more liberal conception. From an early time residents in the land had been admitted by circumcision to have the privileges of Judaism.<sup>1</sup> The later prophets had had visions of the inclusion of Gentiles within the limits of God's people,<sup>2</sup> and during the time of the Maccabees these aspirations began to be realized in action. The Idumæans, Ituræans and Galilæans were conquered, and apparently compelled to adopt the Jewish religion. What was in these cases carried out by force was amongst the Jews of the Dispersion attempted often with great success by moral influence, by a literary propaganda, and by the power of a higher religion. The barrier between Jew and Gentile was partially broken down. In some places, between the time of the Maccabees and the first spread of Christianity, the number of proselytes had become very large; contemporary literature bears witness to the fact that probably one of the chief causes of the hatred of the Jews was that they were successful, not only in business, but also in extending their faith. 'To such an extent,' said Seneca, 'has that accursed race increased, that it has been received into all lands: the conquered have given laws to their conquerors.'<sup>3</sup>

'The multitude of mankind have for a long time had a great inclination to follow our religious observances; for there is not any city of the Greeks, and not even a single race of the barbarians, whither our custom of resting on the seventh day has not come, and by which our feasts and lighting up of lamps, and many of our prohibitions as to food, are not observed.'<sup>4</sup>

Outside the circle of proselytes there was a still wider circle of those who had learnt to reverence the God of the Jews, without adopting all the customs and observances which might seem strange and even repulsive. They are constantly referred to in the Acts of the Apostles under the names of 'they that fear God,' 'the devout,' 'they that worship God,' 'the devout proselytes,'<sup>5</sup> and formed an easy

<sup>1</sup> Ex. xii. 48.

<sup>2</sup> Is. xiv. 1, cf. lx. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Seneca *ap.* Augustin. *De Civitate Dei*, vi. 11. (Reinach, p. 145.)

<sup>4</sup> Jos. C. *Ap.* 39 (282).

<sup>5</sup> οἱ φοβούμενοι τὸν Θεόν, Acts x. 2, 22; xiii. 16, 26; οἱ σεβόμενοι, Acts

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step by which the repugnance to Jewish customs might be gradually got over. Juvenal, in well-known lines, has told us how the father learnt to respect the sabbath and to abstain from swine's flesh ; how the son worships only clouds and the deity of heaven (*i.e.* the one God), submits to circumcision and learns to despise the Roman and practise the Jewish law, and adopt the unsociable habits which were believed to characterize the Jews.<sup>1</sup> It seems to have been particularly among this class of 'devout' men and women that Christianity first spread, while the actual proselytes were among the bitterest opponents of St. Paul. But, in any case, the existence of these two large classes shows that there were elements in Judaism which might have led to breaking down its spirit of exclusiveness. If in its essence Judaism was the religion of a race, it might have broken its barriers ; it had in fact begun to do so, and opened its privileges, once confined to the descendants of Abraham, to all races. This element, like the other free elements of Judaism, Christianity appropriated to itself, and the Jews sank back into their old spirit of exclusiveness, embittered by the sufferings of the great revolt and the destruction of their sacred city.<sup>2</sup>

We have next to consider the Jews as a nation. At first only a loose confederation of tribes, they had been united into a powerful monarchy under David, which had been as transient as are most Oriental monarchies, but had served to create an ideal and to shape the future aspirations of the people. From the time when written prophecy begins, the hopes of the prophets are fixed on an Anointed King of the house of David who will rule in righteousness and equity, under whom Israel will attain once more the half-mythic glory of the past, and hold sovereign sway over the Gentiles, to whose domination it had so often to submit. As history

xiii. 50, xvii. 4, 17 ; οἱ σεβόμενοι τὸν Θεόν, Acts xvi. 14, xviii. 7, Jos. *Ant.* xiv. xii. 2 (110) ; οἱ σεβόμενοι προσήλυτοι, Acts xiii. 43.

<sup>1</sup> Juvenal, *Sat.* xiv. 96-106 (Reinach, p. 172). For illustrations see especially the long list of passages collected by Professor J. E. B. Mayor in his commentary. On the Proselytes, see especially Schürer, *Geschichte* (ed. 3), iii. pp. 102-135.

<sup>2</sup> Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums*, pp. 76-86.

advanced, and as the outward fortunes of the nation became more gloomy, the anticipations of the future grew more definite, and were held more widely, and at the time of the coming of our Lord were summed up in a general expectation of the Kingdom of God, or, to speak rather more correctly, an expectation of the sovereignty of God. The exact form which this expectation assumed varied considerably, but two main conceptions may be distinguished, differing as to the extent to which they were influenced by eschatological speculation. The simpler form, distinguished by the absence of supernatural intervention, may be represented by the Psalms of Solomon. God is called on to raise up 'their King, the Son of David,' to reign over Israel, His servant. He is to purge Jerusalem from the heathen, to gather together a holy people. He will judge the nations and the people with the wisdom of the righteous :

'He shall possess the nations of the heathen, to serve him beneath his yoke ; and he shall glorify the Lord in a place to be seen of the whole earth :

'He shall purge Jerusalem and make it holy, even as it was in the days of old.

'So that the nations may come from the ends of the earth to see his glory, bringing as gifts her sons that had fainted,

'And may see the glory of the Lord wherewith God hath glorified her.

'And a righteous king and taught of God is he that reigneth over them ;

'And there shall be no iniquity in his days in their midst, for all shall be holy, and their king is the Lord Messiah.'

Nothing is said about the means by which this end is to be accomplished, except that the strength of the Messiah comes from God : 'And who can stand against him ? He is mighty in his works and strong in the fear of God.' The strength is that of a man who trusts in God, and is strong because he is righteous. The supernatural element is absent, or at any rate very much kept in the background, and the picture is that of earthly, if idealized, sovereignty.<sup>1</sup>

But more common was a less simple idea, coloured by a

<sup>1</sup> *Psalms of Solomon*, xvii. 23-44, ed. Ryle and James, pp. 137-145.

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strong and often extravagant eschatological element. This is suggested first in the Book of Daniel, and was amplified in the Book of Enoch and other Apocryphal writings. At the time when the kingdoms of the world make war upon the saints, suddenly the Ancient of Days will appear. 'And the kingdom and dominion and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven shall be given to the people of the saints of the Most High, whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom. And all dominions shall serve and obey him.'<sup>1</sup> In the later working out of this idea, the whole conception is more elaborate, and the Messiah is introduced in person. The distinction between this and the simpler form of the belief in which the supernatural element is absent becomes very strongly marked. The consciousness of the impossibility, humanly speaking, of establishing such a kingdom made the recourse to more powerful agencies seem necessary.<sup>2</sup>

But while the 'Kingdom of God' as an ideal conception became more prominent, the actual organization of the people of Israel as a kingdom became less and less possible. Foreign rule and the Dispersion were hard facts, and whatever men's dreams might be, religious and social life had to be organized in accordance with very different conceptions. The period of illusion under the Maccabees was finally brought to an end by the expedition of Pompey, and with a true intuition the more pious among the Jews never forgave him.<sup>3</sup> Herod's power had never been popular, and few were probably really deceived by the semblance of sovereign rule; and in the days of the 'taxing under Cyrenius' the reality of the Roman rule became apparent. Even before the time of our Lord the internal development of Pharisaism was creating a different and more possible outlet for the religious spirit. Other forces might prevail for a time, but they received their death-blow in the great revolt. The destruction of the city and temple, followed by the fatal rebellion under Barcocheba, finally compelled religious development under the Jews to take a

<sup>1</sup> Dan. vii. 27.

<sup>2</sup> See *Regnum Dei*, by Archibald Robertson, D.D. [now Bishop of Exeter], pp. 1-38, 39-46. Bousset, *op. cit.* pp. 185 sq.

<sup>3</sup> See *Psalms of Solomon*, ii. 30-35.

line which was independent of political organization, whatever hopes for the future men might still cherish. Meanwhile, Jews were learning all over the world to live as citizens of other nations, protected by other laws, pursuing their customs and religion, and often enjoying special privileges granted or confirmed to them by the favour of the Emperors. Under these conditions they learned, if not to cease to desire the re-establishment of the temporal kingdom, at least to acquiesce in a very different order of things. The restoration of Israel, therefore, as a people or a nation became ever more impracticable, and made way for the gradual growth of the spiritual conception of a Church.

The idea of a Church implies the separation of the spiritual organization from the temporal, and the tendency on the part of the religion to overstep narrow ethnical and national bounds, and become to a certain extent, the religion of more than one race and one country. It is needless to emphasize how different this was from the earlier and more primitive conception. At the beginnings of history, religions meet us almost invariably as the particular characteristic of a tribe or city, and the religious organization is inextricably interwoven with the national. The extension of the Roman Empire, the destruction of the old city communities, the change of horizon produced by the substitution of a state co-extensive with the civilized world for one confined within a few square miles of territory, all these made the older ideal impossible. The new conditions made a new ideal necessary. It has been pointed out how the various Eastern superstitions which became popular in the earlier imperial period, more particularly the worship of Mithras, conformed to a newer model, and showed what the transformation of men's minds demanded, and we find as a matter of fact many elements in Judaism which might seem to fit it for answering these needs.

As the chosen people Israel, from the beginnings of its theology, had been in a special way a holy and separate nation, and this idea became more marked as the temporal side of Jewish life became less successful. How old it was is shown by the narrative in the Book of Samuel. Before the kingdom was established, 'The Lord your God is your king'

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had been a recognized principle. Such an ideal was naturally obscured in times of national success, but became more prominent in times of failure, until circumstances made it for anyone who could see the only possible basis for religious organization. Not a nation with a separate political organization, but a people set apart, under whatever rule they might be, and wherever they might live, was to be the religious society. This conception expressed itself in a number of theological terms, all of which were taken up and applied to itself by the later Christian Church.

The normal name for the people in its spiritual aspect was Israel. 'The portion of the Lord and the inheritance of God is Israel'<sup>1</sup>; 'Israel is the Lord's portion,' says the son of Sirach.<sup>2</sup> 'Israel is a nation holy unto God, and a nation of inheritance, and a nation of priesthood and royalty, and a possession.'<sup>3</sup> The people were 'the Saints,' 'the Holy Ones.'<sup>4</sup> So in Leviticus: 'Speak unto all the congregation of the children of Israel, and say unto them "Ye shall be holy, for I the Lord your God am holy."<sup>5</sup> They were essentially 'the people,' as opposed to 'the nations.'<sup>6</sup> 'And now thou art our God, and we are the people whom thou hast loved.'<sup>7</sup> More particularly they were a chosen race,<sup>8</sup> a peculiar people, a royal priesthood, a holy nation.<sup>9</sup> 'Ye shall be named the priests of Jehovah; men shall call you the ministers of our God.'<sup>10</sup> This peculiar sanctity and priesthood was not the privilege of any one tribe, but belonged to the whole nation.

<sup>1</sup> *Ps. Sol.* xiv. 3 *ὅτι ἡ μερίς καὶ ἡ κληρονομία τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐστὶν ὁ Ἰσραὴλ.*

<sup>2</sup> *Eccclus.* xvii. 17 *μερίς Κυρίου Ἰσραὴλ ἐστὶν.*

<sup>3</sup> Jubilees, xxxiii. 20.

<sup>4</sup> *οἱ ἅγιοι.* See Hort on 1 Pet. i. 15. Cf. *Ps. Sol.* xvii. 36, 49; Sanday and Headlam, *Rom.* i. 7; Enoch, ciii. 2 'The Books of the Holy Ones.'

<sup>5</sup> *Lev.* xix. 2; cf. xi. 44, 45; xx. 7.

<sup>6</sup> *ὁ λαός* as opposed to *τὰ ἔθνη.* See Hort on 1 Pet. ii. 9.

<sup>7</sup> *Ps. Sol.* ix. 16 *καὶ νῦν σὺ ὁ Θεός, καὶ ἡμεῖς ὁ λαός ὃν ἠγάπησας.*

<sup>8</sup> *Is.* xlili. 20, 21 . . . *τὸ γένος μου τὸ ἐκλεκτόν, λαόν μου ὃν περιποιήσασθαι τὰς ἀρετὰς μου διηγεῖσθαι.*

<sup>9</sup> *Ex.* xix. 5, *ἴσσεσθέ μοι λαὸς περιούσιος ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἐθνῶν· ἐμὴ γὰρ ἐστὶν πᾶσα ἡ γῆ, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἴσσεσθέ μοι βασιλείου ἱεράτευμα καὶ ἔθνος ἁγίων.*

<sup>10</sup> *Is.* lxi. 6 *ὑμεῖς δὲ ἱερεῖς Κυρίου κληθήσεσθε, λειτουργοὶ Θεοῦ.*

'And they shall be to me, saith Jehovah Sabaoth, in the day which I make, for a special possession.'<sup>1</sup>

Now all these thoughts and ideas are obviously quite independent of any temporal conditions, and they might be preserved and perpetuated when the external circumstances under which they arose had passed away. They were preserved in the later Judaism, and were taken over by the Christian Church, which, as we know, summed them up in the word *ecclesia*, or church, thus creating the technical term for a religious society as apart from and opposed to all other forms of association.

The word *ecclesia* had not been used in this signification before it was taken up by Christianity. Although once in the New Testament<sup>2</sup> it is definitely employed of the Jewish Church, yet the usage is different from anything found in purely Jewish writings, and it is clear that Christian conceptions have already touched the word and transformed the idea, and these conceptions are read back into pre-Christian times.

The history of the word is not without difficulty.<sup>3</sup> There are two Hebrew words, *'edhak* and *qahal*, which are used in the Old Testament for the 'assembly' or 'congregation.'

<sup>1</sup> Mal. iii. 17 καὶ ἔσονται μοι, λέγει Κύριος Παντοκράτωρ, εἰς ἡμέραν ἣν ἐγὼ ποιῶ εἰς περιποίησιν. On all these passages see Hort on 1 Pet. ii. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Acts vii. 38: οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ γενόμενος ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ.

<sup>3</sup> On the history of the word, see Schürer, *Geschichte* (ed. 3), ii. p. 432; Hort, *The Christian Ecclesia*, pp. 4 sq. The word *qahal* (קהל) corresponds in derivation to 'convocatio,' and means the assembly of those 'called together.' *'Edhak* (עֲדָה), from the same root as *Mo'edh* (מוֹעֵד), used in the expression *'Ohel-Mo'edh*, the tent where Jehovah met His people (Ex. xxix. 42 sq.), is a rare word, except in P (in Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers and Joshua), while *qahal* is widely used. It is not very easy to make any definite distinction between the usage of the Hebrew words. At first, if there be any distinction, *'edhak* is the ecclesiastical word, *qahal* the popular, but the use of the latter in Deuteronomy gave it, perhaps, a more ideal meaning, and it acquired by degrees a sacred signification. Dr. Hort's remarks on both these words may be quoted: 'Common as are the two Hebrew words which we have examined, *'edhak* and *qahal*, they do not occur in any of the important passages which describe or imply the distinctive position of Israel as a peculiar people. Their use is mainly confined to historical parts of the historical books. They have no place in the greater prophecies having what we call a Messianic

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The former was, with some consistency, translated by the Septuagint *synagoge*, the latter as *ecclesia*. It is hardly possible in the earlier books to find any distinction in meaning between the two, but in later Judaism there is some difference. The word *synagoge* is used generally of a body of people gathered together in one place for any purpose; the word *ecclesia* is used more particularly of a sacred assembly, especially of the sacred assembly of all Israel, and hence of an assembly in its ideal aspect. Two instances may be quoted illustrating this. In the Psalms we read: 'And the

import. From all parts of the book of Isaiah they are both entirely absent' (Hort, *op. cit.* p. 12).

In the LXX we find *συναγωγή* used 130 times to translate 'edhah and thirty-six times for *qahal*, twenty-one times in the Pentateuch; *ἐκκλησία* almost invariably translates *qahal*. The differences in the mode of translating *qahal* do not seem to correspond to any fixed principle of interpretation; in some cases they seem to represent the usage of the individual translator, e.g. in Ezekiel and Jeremiah only *qahal* is found and it is invariably translated by *συναγωγή*. In order to test the later usage of the words we may take first of all the Book of Psalms. In the LXX of these *συναγωγή* occurs twelve times; in nine cases it translates 'edhah, once it translates *qahal*; in the other cases it does not correspond to any Hebrew expression; in every case but three it is used of a concrete assembly, an actual collection of individuals, and even of animals, but three instances demand more careful consideration. Psalm xxxix. (xl.) 11 οὐκ ἔκρυψα τὸ ἐλεός σου καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν σου ἀπὸ συναγωγῆς πολλῆς; here *συναγωγή* translates *qahal*, and the usage is the same as that of *ἐκκλησία* (see below). In Ps. lxi. (lxii.) 8, B reads ἐλπίσατε ἐπ' αὐτόν, πᾶσα συναγωγή λαοῦ, but these words are omitted in N and are an amplification of the Hebrew; here the word is clearly used of the people of Israel in an 'ideal' aspect. More important still is Ps. lxxiii. (lxxiv.) 2 μνήσθητι τῆς συναγωγῆς σου ἧς ἐκτίσω ἀπ' ἀρχῆς. Here the difference from later usage becomes conspicuous. St. Paul quotes or adapts the words, Acts xx. 28, but substitutes for *συναγωγή* (which here translates 'edhah) *ἐκκλησία*, and for ἐκτίσω, περιποιουσάτω. When we turn to *ἐκκλησία* we find that it is used in the same book ten times and always translates *qahal* or a derivative of the same root. In every instance but one the word clearly has a sacred signification, the passages being associated with worship and praise: e.g. Ps. xxi. (xxii.) 23 'In the midst of the *ecclesia* will I praise thee.' Three times we have the great *ecclesia*: Ps. xxi. (xxii.) 26 παρὰ σοῦ ὁ ἔπαινός μου ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ μεγάλῃ; xxxiv. (xxxv.) 18 ἔξομολογήσομαί σοι ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ πολλῇ; xxxix. (xl.) 10 εὐηγγελισάμην δικαιοσύνην ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ μεγάλῃ; in these instances the words seem to be used with something approaching an ideal aspect;

heavens shall declare thy wonders, O Lord; and thy truth in the *ecclesia* of the Saints'; and in Ecclesiasticus, 'Wisdom shall praise herself, and shall glory in the midst of her people. In the *ecclesia* of the Most High shall she open her mouth.'<sup>1</sup> But the usage is not fixed, and there can be no doubt that the ultimate meaning of the words was determined by the fact that *synagoge* became invariably used as the Greek name for a synagogue. And thus *ecclesia* would necessarily

the writer does not seem to mean so much that he will tell of God's righteousness in what we should call a 'large congregation,' but that his audience is all the people of Israel. There is a similar conception present in the three final passages where the word is used: Ps. lxxxviii. (lxxxix.) 5 [6] *ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ἁγίων*; cvi. (cvii.) 32 *ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ* (v. l. -*σiais*) *λαοῦ*; clxix. 1 *ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ὁσίων*. Allowing for the fact of difference of authorship and of translation, there seems to be certainly a tendency towards using the word *ecclesia* in the more ideal and sacred significations. In the Book of Ecclesiasticus, *συναγωγή* is used ten times, *ἐκκλησία* twelve times, and without any very perceptible difference of meaning between the two; it may be noted, however, that *ἐκκλησία* never occurs in the plural and that it alone is used in the passages where the assembly is definitely sacred and where it is personified. Ecclus. xxiv. 1, 2 *ἡ σοφία αἰνέσει ψυχὴν αὐτῆς καὶ ἐν μέσῳ λαοῦ αὐτῆς καυχήσεται· ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ὕψιστον στόμα αὐτῆς ἀνοίξει καὶ ἔναντι δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ καυχήσεται*. In the Psalms of Solomon the word *συναγωγή* occurs five times, *ἐκκλησία* once. The former quite clearly in every place means an actual gathering together: on four occasions it is used in the plural, and once or twice it seems almost to signify meetings such as those of the *synagogue*; xvii. 18 'they that loved the assemblies (*συναγωγὰς*) of the saints.' The latter, in the only place where it occurs, is used definitely in an ideal signification. The following quotation shows the contrast. Ps. Sol. x. 7, 8 καὶ ὅσιοι ἐξομολογήσονται ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ λαοῦ, καὶ πτωχοὺς ἐλεήσει ὁ Θεὸς ἐν εὐφροσύνῃ Ἰσραὴλ· ὅτι χρηστὸς καὶ ἐλεήμων ὁ Θεὸς εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, καὶ συναγωγὰς Ἰσραὴλ δοξάσουσι τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου. What ultimately became the final cause of distinction between the words, and determined the Christian usage, was the growth of the synagogue in its modern sense. When, after the exile, this development took place, the name given was the Aramaic *Keneseth* (ܩܢܝܬܐ), and this seems to have been universally translated *συναγωγή*. As soon as this usage became fixed, it would become natural for *ἐκκλησία* to be used when the ideal assembly was thought of, and it would thus become the ordinary Greek word for translating whatever Hebrew or Aramaic word was used with that signification.

<sup>1</sup> Ps. lxxxviii. 5 [6]; Ecclus. xxiv. 1, 2. The originals are quoted in the previous note.

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be the word used to express the circle of ideas suggested by the religious assembly of God's chosen people, an assembly which might in a sense be realized in the great gatherings of the temple, but must necessarily be largely an ideal conception, and thus naturally passed to the Christian Church. The two words, therefore, which had originally almost the same meaning, ultimately came to express two such antagonistic ideas as those of Church and Synagogue.

We may now put together the results which arise from this discussion. During the first century of the Christian era the old conception of a national religion peculiar to a people and distinct from that of any other nation ceased to be really tenable, and with it passed the identity of religious organization with that of the national life. A universal State needed and created the conception of a universal religion, and a government which, by the necessities of the case, was mainly secular and normally tolerant, fostered the growth of the idea of a Church as a religious society apart from the State. The elements included in this idea were first that a religion was intended for others besides those of a particular race or nation; that it was intended, in fact, for the whole world and aimed more or less consciously at being universal; and then secondly, and as a necessary consequence of this, that it should be organized, at any rate to a certain extent, independently of the ordinary social, municipal, and political life. The first and second centuries of the Christian era saw the rise of various attempts at meeting this need. The cults of Mithras, of Isis and Osiris, are typical of the efforts, more or less successful for a time, which were thus made, but later Judaism and Christianity were the only permanent results, and Christianity alone consciously created the conception known to us in modern times by the name of a Church.

It was only a religion which was in some form monotheistic that was capable of becoming universal. But although Judaism believed in one God, who was Lord of the whole earth, yet it was hampered by a rigid exclusiveness which shut out from its privileges all who were not of the chosen race, and by a narrow nationalist ideal linked in some form or

other with temporal sovereignty. We have seen how circumstances were suggesting the abandonment of these ideals. In many places large numbers of proselytes had been made, and Judaism showed signs of breaking down its barriers. Sensible people had ceased to arrange their life in the expectation of regaining temporal rule. But the actual step of creating the idea of a Church was not made. Christianity made this step, and absorbed in itself all the liberal elements. Judaism continued in its old line. Ever since the fall of Jerusalem it has been in fact a Church, but it has never recognized this as its ideal. It has not ceased to look forward to a reorganized Jewish State. It has preserved its exclusiveness and its isolation.

And as Christianity first grasped the idea, so it fixed the name. The word was ready to hand. It had acquired an ideal signification, but as a matter of fact we never find it actually used by the Jewish community in the way that it is very early used by Christians. In the word *ecclesia* a new and definite spiritual conception was embodied, for which the world was ready, which was the spiritual fulfilment of principles innate in Judaism and awaiting development, but which only came into being in the new life and revelation of Christianity.<sup>1</sup>

## II.

We have seen that as an actual fact Judaism was largely ceasing to be a merely national religion, and was developing as a religious society of the character to which we now give the name of a Church. The next point for inquiry is as to the basis, whether of religious belief, of ceremonial observance and worship, or of moral life and custom, which formed the principles of this society, which united the Jews together in bonds so close as to cause surprise and perplexity to outside

<sup>1</sup> The idea of the Jewish *ecclesia* is brought out in detail by Bousset (*op. cit.* pp. 54-9, *Die Entwicklung der jüdischen Frömmigkeit zur Kirche*), but he fails to realize fully (1) that although the conception was post-exilic, yet it was possible owing to tendencies in pre-exilic Judaism; (2) that even after the exile the realization was practical rather than theoretical. As a matter of fact Judaism has become a Church, but it has never realized the idea of a Church.



observers, and separated them definitely from the rest of the world. The answer to this question may be made very shortly, and summed up in one word, 'the Law.' In contrast to every other race the Jews had certain definite religious principles, which, however local they might be in origin, were in their essence independent of local or temporary associations, and were capable of being preserved under the most varied and even disastrous circumstances.<sup>1</sup>

The sacredness and eternal obligation of the Law was the constant theme of Jewish writers. The Creator had commanded Wisdom, said the Son of Sirach, to tabernacle in Israel. In the beloved city He gave her rest. She took root in a people that was glorified, in the portion of the Lord's own inheritance. Like a cedar in Libanus, like a cypress tree in Hermon, like a palm tree on the seashore, like a rose in Jericho, such was the book of the covenant of the Most High God, even the law which Moses commanded for a heritage unto the assemblies of Jacob.<sup>2</sup> 'The law of the Lord is perfect, converting the soul,' said the Psalmist.<sup>3</sup> God had 'appointed a law in Israel, which He commanded our fathers, that they should make' it 'known to their children.'<sup>4</sup> The law was from eternity, said Baruch, 'all that hold it fast are appointed to life, but such as leave it shall die.'<sup>5</sup>

It was the possession of the Law which made Judaism so strong a force, for it preserved characteristics exactly suited to the state of society which prevailed at the time of which we are speaking. The old religious and orderly life, the old morality, rested upon and found their sanctions in the city communities. But these had been to a large extent broken up and destroyed in the gradual growth of the Roman Empire. The new mental horizon which had thus been created made men no longer feel satisfied with a God whose worship and power were confined within the limits of a single city or race. The morality which depended upon the actual laws or the public opinion of a city community which had ceased to be

<sup>1</sup> See on this subject Bousset, *op. cit.* p. 87. Weber, *Die Lehren des Talmud*, gives the later developments.

<sup>2</sup> Ecclus. xxiv. 8-23.

<sup>3</sup> Ps. xix. 7.

<sup>4</sup> Ps. lxxviii. 5.

<sup>5</sup> Baruch, iii. 36-iv. 1.

stirred by any emotions but those of ceremonial precedence could not live. But the Law of the Jew was one whose sanctions were independent of any circumstances.

'Though we be deprived,' says Josephus, 'of our wealth, of our cities, or of other advantages which we possess, our Law continues immortal; nor can any Jew go so far from his own country, nor be so affrighted at the most cruel ruler, as not to be affrighted at the Law still more than at him.'<sup>1</sup>

And the tenacity with which the Jew clung to his principles, at a time when no one else had any principles to cling to, had become notorious.

'It is natural to all Jews to be ready gladly to die for the Law if necessary; and therefore up to the present time many of our nation, when taken captive in war on many occasions, have been seen enduring torture and every sort of death in the theatres, so as to avoid saying a single word against the laws and the records that are associated with them.'<sup>2</sup>

So writes Josephus, and he quotes from a writer generally called the pseudo-Hecataeus in corroboration of his opinion. So great, he was reported to say, was the regard of the Jews for their laws that they were ready to endure anything rather than transgress them. Stripped, or tormented, or exposed to the most terrible deaths, they met their fate in an unparalleled way, and nothing could induce them to renounce the religion of their forefathers.<sup>3</sup>

A similar testimony to the power of the Law comes from heathen historians. It was recognized that here lay the feature which separated Jews from other people. Their rites, says Tacitus, are defended on the ground of their antiquity; their other institutions are detestable and malevolent, and have prevailed only owing to their intrinsic badness. All the most degraded characters have deserted the rites of their ancestors, and added their share of tribute and offerings to Judaism. They are distinguished by their hatred of every race but their own. They admit none to share their feasts; they allow no intermarriage. Those who join them learn

<sup>1</sup> Josephus, *C. Ap.* ii. 38 (277).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* i. 8 (10, 11).

<sup>3</sup> Pseudo-Hecataeus, *ap. Jos. C. Ap.* i. 22 (191).

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the same habits, and are filled with a desire to despise their gods, to set aside their country, and to look on their parents, their children, and their brethren as vile and contemptible.<sup>1</sup>

We have now, therefore, to analyze this idea of 'the Law,' and consider what it implies. It means in the first place the possession of Holy Scriptures. 'The Jews,' says St. Paul, 'were entrusted with the oracles of God.' They had a collection of books which contained, as they believed, a direct revelation of God, and which were an authoritative guide in all questions of religion, morals, and worship. Already in the time of the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes it had been realized that the destruction of copies of the Scriptures was the most severe punishment that could be inflicted on the Jews.<sup>2</sup> In the Preface to the Book of Ecclesiasticus we are told how many and great things had been delivered unto the Jews by the law and the prophets and by the others that have followed in their steps, for the which things we must give Israel the praise of instruction and wisdom; and if the story told by Josephus of the Septuagint translation be not a truthful account of the event, it affords very clear testimony to the Jews' opinion of their own law. 'This legislation is full of hidden wisdom, and entirely blameless, as being the legislation of God.'<sup>3</sup> And Josephus, in his defence of his religion, says: 'We have not an innumerable multitude of books among us, disagreeing from and contradicting one another, as the Greeks have, but only twenty-two books which contain the records of all the past times, which are justly believed to be divine.'<sup>4</sup> No competing religion had its canonical books which could claim the same authority. Homer was a standard classic, but the religion of Homer was so obviously unacceptable that it was only by profuse allegorizing that a religious-minded man could tolerate it. There were plenty of schools of philosophers, but the one thing that was obvious about them was that they disagreed, that they presented no common tradition even on moral questions, and thus that their writings could not make any general appeal on the ground of authority. The position of

<sup>1</sup> Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 5 (Reinach 180).

<sup>2</sup> Jos. *Ant.* XII. v. 4 (256).

<sup>3</sup> Jos. *Ant.* XII. ii. 4 (37).

<sup>4</sup> Jos. *C. Ap.* i. 8 (38).

the Jewish Scriptures as claiming to be an authoritative declaration of the divine law was therefore unique in the ancient world.<sup>1</sup>

But what increased the strength of the Jewish position was the fact that their Scriptures taught a creed which was as convincing as it was simple. Whatever difficulties later reflection may have found (under Christian influence) in the doubtful morality or the obvious anthropomorphism of some portions, the fact remained clear that the Jewish Scriptures as a whole taught, and with authority, just the belief which the highest thought of the time demanded. The whole trend of ancient thought on religion and philosophy was in the first place dissatisfaction with the moral conceptions of almost all the systems of traditional polytheism, and in the next place a desire for the unifying principle which was attained when an elevated monotheism was revealed to them. The creed of the Jew was contained in the words 'Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord'—words which had probably already been incorporated in the *Shema* as part of the regular synagogue worship. This clear and definite teaching was just what was needed, and its import could be put by Josephus in a very convincing way.

'The first command is concerning God, and affirms that God contains all things, and is a Being every way perfect and happy, self-sufficient, and supplying all other beings; the beginning, the middle, and the end of all things. . . . We can neither see nor think of anything like Him, nor is it agreeable to piety to form a resemblance of Him. We see His works, the light, the heaven, the earth, the sun, the waters, the generations of animals, the production of fruit. These things hath God made, not with hands, not with labour, nor as wanting the assistance of any to co-operate with Him; but at His will they were made and became good immediately. All men ought to worship Him by the exercise of virtue; for this way of worship of God is the most holy of all others.'<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On the position of the Scriptures see Bousset, *op. cit.* pp. 120-138; Schürer, *Geschichte* (ed. 3), ii. pp. 305 sq.; Sanday, *Inspiration*, pp. 70-122.

<sup>2</sup> Jos. C. *Ap.* ii. 22 (190-192).

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Enjoined by the law as the recognized worship of the one God was the whole religious cultus of the temple. At first sight it might seem, and it did seem to many outward observers, that the whole essence of Judaism was bound up in the temple and the solemn religious rites there offered. It was the traditional place of the worship of Israel, it was the House of God, distinguished by the possession of the Shekinah, the Divine glory. There alone could the due sacrifices be offered. There the great feasts were celebrated. There was the visible embodiment of the great congregation of the Saints. Thither from all parts of the world came the Jewish people in pilgrimage. There was the great fact which bound them together in affection for Jerusalem, which was the mother of all. So it might seem; but, in point of fact, as events showed, the worship of the temple had ceased to be the dominant feature of the Jewish religion. Two causes probably contributed to this. The one was that the religion had outgrown the need for the sacrificial system. There were plenty of passages in the Psalms and the Prophets which might justify this attitude, and the conceptions of the Divine nature had changed so much that a belief in the atoning value of sacrifices had ceased to be a living force. It has been noticed that, unlike the prophets of the past, neither John the Baptist nor our Lord had ever to rebuke the people for their excessive addiction to sacrifices and sacrificial feasts; and the very growth of the conception of legal obligation, as it was implied in the inmost principles of Pharisaism, was only possible when a belief in the efficiency of the sacrifices had ceased. And this change of attitude was emphasized by the fact of the Dispersion. To the majority of the Jews a visit to the temple, even at the time of the great feasts, must necessarily have been only a very occasional event. As an external sign of his Jewish traditions it would thrill him with enthusiasm, but it would not form an ever-present factor in his life, and its place would necessarily be taken by something which could profoundly influence his daily life. The real factors, therefore, in the development of Judaism had become the synagogue service and the law in its ceremonial and moral aspect. Hence, when, the temple of Jerusalem was

destroyed, Judaism did not suffer as was expected; for although by far the most conspicuous feature to outward appearance, the temple had ceased to be the real vital part in personal religion.<sup>1</sup>

But one portion of the sacrificial system must not be omitted—the Passover. In its origin it was certainly far older than the temple, and had all the characteristics of a family sacrifice. It was apparently only very late in the development of the history of Israel that the law prevailed that the Passover must be slain in the temple. Nor was this in any way essential to the character of the rite, which clearly lay in the sacrificial meal. Its meaning, too, contained elements of permanency. Whatever may have been its origin, it had become a national festival in which the prominent idea was the remembrance of the redemption of Israel from Egypt. Although in Ezekiel an atoning power is assigned to this as to other sacrifices, that was not probably the prominent idea in the minds of the worshippers. It is always very difficult to discover what was the conception of the meaning of a religious rite in past times, since that is an element less likely to be recorded than any other feature connected with it, and was as a matter of fact rarely defined or expressed. But in regard to the Passover, the thought in the mind of most worshippers would probably be the consciousness that they were sharing in the external fellowship of Israel, and consequently in the religious privileges which that implied. As a festival, therefore, not connected with the temple, the importance of which did not depend on any belief in its atoning value, but rather on the idea of communion implied in the common feast which was the great outward sign of membership of the community of Israel, and a memorial of the great events of past history, it survived the fall of Jerusalem, and has always been the chief symbol of Judaism.

But as for the sacrifices, their importance had really ceased, and their place had been taken by the elaborate ceremonial law, regulating even the most minute observances which had become the outward characteristic of the Jew. It

<sup>1</sup> See Bousset, *op. cit.* pp. 87-120.

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was naturally on this that the heathen writers seized, as it was here that the contrast between the Jews and the rest of the world became apparent. Circumcision, the observance of special days, particularly the Sabbath, the strict rules regulating questions of eating and drinking, which separated them from their neighbours, and the avoidance of inter-marriage—these and other less conspicuous customs formed the idea of the Law as it presented itself to the heathen, and as it largely lives in our minds at the present day.

But this external side of the Jewish Law must not blind us to what was the real strength of the nation, the fact that the Law represented a strong system of morality. It was hard and narrow, it had very definite limitations, doubtless it confused the moral with the ceremonial (although, as a matter of fact, the two are not so distinct as it is sometimes thought); but especially when compared with the heathen around them the Jews had the strength which comes from a strict rule of life, which promoted their well-being both moral and physical. Josephus is no doubt a prejudiced witness, but his testimony is, for all that, valuable. He lays emphasis on the importance of religious morality.

‘Moses did not make religion a part of virtue, but all other virtues a part of religion—I mean justice, and fortitude, and temperance, and a universal agreement of the members of the community with one another; for all our actions and studies, and all our words, have a reference to piety towards God.’<sup>1</sup> ‘As to the laws themselves, more words are unnecessary . . . they encourage the truest piety in the world. They encourage people to share what they have with one another; they are enemies to injustice, they are careful for righteousness, they banish idleness and expensive living, and instruct men to be content with what they have, and to be laborious in their callings.’<sup>2</sup>

In the same way he points out the emphasis which they lay upon education. ‘Our principal care is to educate our children well.’<sup>3</sup> And even more important in the breaking up of decent habits of life, and in the absence of all moral rule in the cosmopolitan society of the day, were the regulations

<sup>1</sup> Jos. *C. Ap.* ii. 16 (170).

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* ii. 41 (291).

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.* i. 12 (60).

as to marriage on which he could lay so much stress.<sup>1</sup> A study of some of the conditions of modern life would reveal that at the present day the Jews exhibit just the same strength when exposed to similar conditions, among large populations weakened by the demoralizing life of great cities.

We shall have later to compare the principles which formed the basis of the Christian Church with these, and the comparison will make us better able to judge of their value. At present it is sufficient to emphasize certain elements both of weakness and strength. When we were speaking of proselytism,<sup>2</sup> it was pointed out how many of the heathen were attracted by the monotheistic worship and high morality of the Jews, but were deterred by what seemed to them the repulsiveness of their customs, and thus became attached to Judaism without becoming members of the community. A strict code of legal obligations fenced by rigid ceremonial rules is the creation of, and fosters, a strong narrow character. The law of the Jews was exactly fitted to preserve a strong and vigorous people in the midst of an unsympathetic world; it was not fitted to become a universal law. It resembled those many systems, of which Puritanism is the most conspicuous, which have grown up within Christianity, and which have created within a limited sphere a strong, if narrow, moral type, but have failed completely where they have aimed at a universal application. Religious bodies of limited outlook have often a definite function to perform in preserving moral ideals, especially in periods of moral decay; but something broader and truer to human nature is necessary for transforming the minds and character of a whole nation or of the human race.

### III

We have considered so far the development of the Jewish society until it exhibited many of the characteristics which we express by the word Church. We have examined also the principles upon which that society was based; it remains now to examine the character of its organization, and especially

<sup>1</sup> Jos. C. *Ap.* ii. 24 (199-203).

<sup>2</sup> See p. 32.

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of its religious organization. In this connexion we may pass over almost entirely the Jewish Hierarchy, the organization of the temple, and its services. These all passed away with the temple and their influence in the development of the Christian ministry was, with certain possible exceptions, purely literary. It was not out of this that the Christian ministry grew. Our attention will be directed to the half religious, half secular, authority of the Sanhedrin, to the synagogue and the local Jewish communities. Here, as elsewhere, we find Judaism in a state of transition. The character of its organization varied according to the locality. In Palestine the Jews, although no longer possessing independent power, had a political system of government. In Alexandria, and perhaps in some other larger cities of the East, they were a nation within a nation, with their own lands and privileges; throughout the greater part of the empire they were of course compelled to live under the laws of the place in which they might be dwelling, but they had also their own private organizations for religion and for their own lands. They were in fact, as we have seen, although they might not realize it, organized as a Church.

At the head of the nation and church was the Sanhedrin.<sup>1</sup> Of its origin we have no definite knowledge. It appears to have grown up gradually under foreign domination, probably out of a council composed originally of the heads of the priestly and lay houses, which ultimately acquired a formal character. It is mentioned first in the time of Antiochus the Great, under the name of the *Gerousia*.<sup>2</sup> By the time of the Maccabees it had gained sufficient prestige to be an integral part of the government of the country, which the various rulers of the Maccabæan family altered and organized in accordance with their own interests, but could not abolish. When the country passed under the direct rule of the Romans, it would be necessary for their system that its government should be to a

<sup>1</sup> The name סנהדרין was derived from the Greek *συνέδριον*. The proper Hebrew name was *Beth Din* (בית דין)—"The House of Judgment."

<sup>2</sup> ἡ γερουσία Jos. *Ant.* XII. iii. 3 (142). 2 Macc. xi. 27: βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος τῇ γερουσίᾳ τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἰουδαίοις χαιρεῖν.

certain extent assimilated to the normal method of local and municipal rule in the Hellenic parts of the empire. They were naturally prepared to recognize the existing aristocratic governing body, while regulating its position and making it to conform in some degree to the Greek model. Under them it probably attained a more definitely organized form and function, and would be allowed as much freedom as was compatible with the sovereign power of Rome.<sup>1</sup>

There is some difficulty, and has been a great deal of controversy, as to the composition of the Sanhedrin, owing to the discrepancy of our two main classes of authorities. We have a considerable amount of contemporary information, derived mainly from the writings of Josephus and the New Testament. The picture there presented is quite different in many important points from that contained in Jewish tradition. But there can be no doubt that the latter is unhistorical. It reads into the times before the destruction of Jerusalem the arrangements of a later date. We cannot, therefore, place any reliance on these traditions if uncorroborated and for other reasons improbable.

The Sanhedrin probably consisted of seventy-one members,<sup>2</sup> the high priest being president.<sup>3</sup> They were perhaps appointed by co-option and held office for life, but this is one of the points upon which our information is defective. They consisted of representatives of the high priestly aristocracy, who were members of the party of the Sadducees, and

<sup>1</sup> In the New Testament the name *συνέδριον* is common: Matt. v. 22, xxvi. 59; Mark xiv. 55, xv. 1; Luke xxii. 66; Acts iv. 15, &c. The term appears to be used first Jos. *Ant.* xiv. ix. 3, 5 (167, 179). In Luke xxii. 66 we have τὸ πρεσβυτέρειον τοῦ λαοῦ, Acts xxii. 5 πᾶν τὸ πρεσβυτέρειον. In Josephus we have also βουλὴ, and in his *Life* usually τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν, τὸ κοινὸν (Jos. *Vita*, 12, 13, 38, 49, 52, 60, 70).

<sup>2</sup> The number was probably derived from Num. xi. 16—the seventy elders and Moses.

<sup>3</sup> It is on this point that there is most discrepancy. The Rabbinical traditions make the President one of the Rabbis, to whom they give the title *Nasi* (Prince), and beside him place the *Abh-beth-din*. A list of these is given from the 2nd century B.C. But the testimony of the New Testament seems explicit on the other side. The other arrangement was probably that of the Sanhedrin of Rabbis at Lydda after the fall of Jerusalem.

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of Rabbis and teachers of the law, who were of the party of the Pharisees, perhaps also of others called simply the Elders. Hence they are spoken of in the New Testament as the High Priests, Scribes and Elders.<sup>1</sup> At any rate the Acts of the Apostles show clearly that it contained representatives of both the great Jewish parties of the day.<sup>2</sup> Its members were appointed to their office by the laying on of hands.

When we pass to the functions of the Sanhedrin at this period, we find that it represents accurately the transitional period through which Judaism was passing. On the one side the Sanhedrin was the secular authority (under the Roman Governor) within Jerusalem and the eleven toparchies of Judæa, but excluding the Greek cities, which had an independent organization. Within these limits it would possess the same powers as the senate of a Greek city over all Jews, and in regard to the temple and its sanctity it had certain powers over non-Jews as well. Its functions were judicial, although without the power of life and death, and perhaps to a certain extent administrative.

But the Sanhedrin had another and a wider function. Beyond the limits of Judæa it exercised a religious authority over all who accepted Judaism as a religion. This power was necessarily in most cases entirely spiritual, depending upon voluntary acquiescence, but that it was very real is shown by the position St. Paul held when he went to Damascus with letters from the high priest.<sup>3</sup> At a later date, when the Sanhedrin ceased to have any secular power, and when it represented the Rabbis and the Rabbis only, it was said that 'the decision of the great Sanhedrin, from which went forth directions for all Israel, was of inviolable force, and binding upon all teachers of the

<sup>1</sup> We find the following variations : ἀρχιερεῖς, γραμματεῖς, πρεσβύτεροι, Matt. xxvii. 41 ; Mark xi. 27, xiv. 43, 53, xv. 1.

ἀρχιερεῖς, γραμματεῖς, Matt. ii. 4, xx. 18, xxi. 15 ; Mark x. 33, xi. 18, xxi. 15 ; Mark x. 33, xi. 18, xiv. 1, xv. 31 ; Luke xxii. 2, 66, xxiii. 10.

ἀρχιερεῖς, πρεσβύτεροι, Matt. xxi. 23, xxvi. 3, 47, xxvii. 1, 3, 12, 20, xxviii. 11, 12 ; Acts iv. 23, xxiii. 14, xxv. 15.

οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ τὸ συνέδριον ὅλον, Matt. xxvi. 59, Mark xiv. 55, Acts xii. 30.

<sup>2</sup> Acts xxiii. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Acts ix. 2, xx. 5, xxvi. 12.

law and all judges.' At the time of which we are speaking, before the fall of Jerusalem, the condition was one of transition. The secular authority was not gone but limited; the religious authority was recognized but not organized.<sup>1</sup>

A similar transitional character is apparent in the organization of the separate communities. The subject is somewhat obscure, and here again there is a danger of reading later arrangements into the times before the fall of Jerusalem. There is a danger, too, of generalizing from isolated incidents, of combining the arrangements in one place with those in another, and thus making a more complete picture than the evidence warrants. But, speaking generally, we shall find the same tendency as we have found before. Israel is ceasing to be a nation, and is becoming a church.

It is important in this connection to make a definite distinction between Palestine, the actual Jewish territory, and the Judaism of the Dispersion. From the very earliest times there had been in all the different towns of Palestine the 'elders of the city,' and it is this body—called often the 'elders of the people'<sup>2</sup>—who formed the rulers of the Palestinian towns in New Testament times, and composed the local *Sanhedrins*, as they were called. Of the manner of their election or appointment we seem to have no information. They were probably not fewer than seven in number,<sup>3</sup> and in

<sup>1</sup> The above account of the Sanhedrin is mainly based on Schürer, *Geschichte* (ed. 3), ii. 188 sq., and the article in Hastings' Dictionary, iv. 396 sq.; that in *Encyclopædia Biblica*, iv. 484o, is less useful.

Rabbinical extracts concerning the later synagogue may be found in Weber, *Die Lehren des Talmuds*, p. 130 sq. According to some Rabbis the decisions of the Sanhedrin on earth were binding on the Sanhedrin in heaven. God and the angels kept the feasts in accordance with the decision of the court on earth (*ib.* p. 155).

<sup>2</sup> The Hebrew is in all cases *זִנְיָא*, and is translated in the LXX, especially in Deuteronomy, either by ἡ γερουσία τῆς πόλεως (Deut. xix. 12), or οἱ πρεσβύτεροι τῆς πόλεως, Josh. xx. 4, &c., the latter being generally the more common. In the New Testament we have (Luke vii. 3) *πρεσβύτεροι τῶν Ἰουδαίων*, while we find the term *συνέδριον* (Sanhedrin) used of the local councils as well as of the great council at Jerusalem; Matt. x. 17, *παραδώσουσιν γὰρ ὑμᾶς εἰς συνέδρια, καὶ ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς αὐτῶν μαρτυρώσουσιν ὑμᾶς*.

<sup>3</sup> This is probably the meaning of the passage in Jos. *Ant.* iv. viii

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the larger towns, at any rate, there were probably twenty-three, although the last number may be doubtful. Among their functions was that of judges, and in particular they were the officers who exercised the power of excommunication or banishment from the community. As the principal persons in the place, they were honoured by the chief seats in the synagogue; it was probably in the synagogue that they exercised their judicial functions; they perhaps appointed, or out of their number were appointed, the officer or officers of the synagogue, but in their origin and duties they were elders of the city, and not elders of the synagogue.

When we pass beyond the limits of Palestine we find the Jews living under circumstances in which the preservation of their customs and religion was dependent upon their being organized as a separate community, either privately, as must have been the more normal case, or (as was certainly the case at Alexandria) with rights recognized by the State.

While in Palestine the governing body is called generally the elders, in other countries the normal expression is the *Gerousia*. This word had been used in the Septuagint, and was perhaps adopted owing to the natural tendency to assimilate the constitution of the Jewish communities to the normal Greek city type. As to two or three different places we have fairly accurate information. In Alexandria the Jews were recognized as a separate race or nation side by side with the Greeks and native Egyptians, with rights of their own, although they might also possess full burgher rights. At their head was an *Ethnarch*, but after the time of Augustus the government was in the hands of a *Gerousia*, the principal members of which were called *Archontes*. At Berenice, in the Cyrenaica, they formed a State of their own with nine *Archontes*. At Rome there was no general organization for the whole body of the Jews. There were a large number of separate communities or synagogues. The officers mentioned are the *Gerousiarch*, or head of the *Gerousia*, and the *Archontes*. It is unnecessary for our purpose to go into further detail. There seems to be a

14, ἀρχέωσαν δὲ καθ' ἑκάστην πόλιν ἄνδρες ἑπτὰ; cf. *Bell. Jud.* II. xx. 5 (571). See Schürer, *op. cit.* ii. 178, 179.

substantial unity of principle underlying the different forms of local government in different parts of the world. Whether in the actual Jewish territory or in the Diaspora, the organization tended always to be more or less political in character. The Jews were a nation apart from other nations. The main feature common to all is that a senate or body of elders was at the head of each community; but while in Palestine they were spoken of as elders or Presbyters, in the Diaspora the more common Greek designation, the *Gerousia* or senate, is used.

But side by side with this organization and to a certain extent connected with it was the synagogue. The exact relation between the organization of the latter and that of the city or community would vary in different places. In Palestine in the Jewish districts the elders were an institution far older than the synagogue, but as rulers of the community they naturally held the chief position in the synagogue. In some cities where Jews and Greeks shared the rights of citizens, it seems as if there must have been some sort of organization for the synagogue, although we do not appear to have any evidence on the subject. In Jerusalem, while there was one Sanhedrin or body of elders for the race, there were a large number of synagogues. In Alexandria the case was the same: there was one senate, but there were many synagogues. In Rome, apparently, where, as we have seen there were many small communities each with its own senate, the community would correspond to the synagogue. The synagogue would in most cases be the meeting-place of the community for secular purposes. The elders or judges or rulers would sit there as a court of justice. The decree of excommunication passed by the elders is technically described as cutting off from the synagogue. The position of the elders is described as follows: 'The elders take their places facing the people and with their backs to the sanctuary.'<sup>1</sup>

But when we pass to the services of the synagogue, we find that it possesses its own officers. There were the 'ruler of the synagogue,' the almoner and the servant. The attestation

<sup>1</sup> Tosephta, *Megilla* iv. 227<sup>11</sup>.

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of the term *archisynagogus*,<sup>1</sup> ruler of the synagogue, is very wide. We find the name used almost universally in Palestine, in Egypt, in Asia, Greece, Italy, Africa, and Rome. His position was that of directing the worship of the synagogue. He may have been, and probably generally was, one of the elders, although his functions were different. It was his business to decide who was to read the prayers. It was he who called upon anyone to read the Scriptures, or, as we see in the case of our Lord, to give an address. His duty was to preside, but he had no particular function either in reading or teaching. These might be performed by any member of the community on whom he called. In fact, if he wished himself to take part in the reading of the Scriptures, he had to be invited by others to do so, 'because he could not of himself assume so honourable a position.'<sup>2</sup>

Besides the ruler of the synagogue there was the servant or minister.<sup>3</sup> He it was who called upon anyone to perform the function with which he might be entrusted. He handed the copy of the Scriptures to the reader, and received it back from him, as we see in the case of our Lord, who, having read the passage from the Prophets, returns the book to the attendant. The duties of the almoner are not important for our purpose.

In considering the character of the synagogue services or meetings, it must be remembered that so long as the temple stood they were primarily for instruction and not for worship, and we cannot be certain of details which we only know from a later time. It is probable that some part of the later forms already existed. First, the Shema, so called from the fact that it began with the words of Deut. vi. 4, 'Hear, O Israel'; then the prayer; then the readings of the Law and the Prophets; then the interpretation or *targum*; and then an address if

<sup>1</sup> In the New Testament the word occurs, Mark v. 22, 35, 36, 38; Luke viii. 49, xiii. 14; Acts xiii. 15, xviii. 8, 17. In two cases the word is used in the plural (Mark v. 22, Acts xiii. 15), which is a little confusing, for usually there seems to have been only a single officer of this name for a synagogue.

<sup>2</sup> Tosephta, *Meg.* iv. 227<sup>10</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> The *hazzan*, חַזָּן; cf. Epiph. *Haer.* xxx. 11 'Ἀσαντων των παρ' αυτοις διακονων ερμηνευομενων η υπηρετων. Luke iv. 20 και πτυχας το βιβλιον, αποδοὺς τῷ ὑπηρέτῃ, ἐκάθισεν.

there were anyone competent present. But the synagogue had other functions to fulfil: it was used for teaching purposes, being the place in which the elementary school was held, conducted often by the synagogue servant; it was used for meetings connected with the ordinary life of the community, and even for common meals.

The above sketch, necessarily very imperfect, will give some indication of the environment in which Christianity came into existence. Nor can it be doubted that these conditions largely affected the form which the latter took. External circumstances and internal development had produced a situation which had within it very varied potentialities. There were elements of freedom side by side with elements of exclusiveness. Some impulse was necessary to bring into active life the various possibilities which were lying dormant. The necessary impulse was given by Christianity. It seized and appropriated to itself all the power of expansion latent in Judaism. To carry out this expansion it developed a simple elastic organization out of elements which the same source also provided. Hence it was that from the same origin came on the one hand the synagogue, inheriting the exclusiveness of its parent, the Judaism of the old covenant; on the other the Church, inheriting its element of universalism. It is this latter development and the influences which effected it that it is our purpose to endeavour to trace.

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#### ART. III.—CHRISTINA ROSSETTI.

*The Poetical Works of Christina Georgina Rossetti.* With memoir and notes, &c., by WILLIAM MICHAEL ROSSETTI. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1904.)

THE Church of England has been happy in the number of poets who have not only been bred in her fold, but have also devoted themselves to her service. It is fortunate that the 'sober standard of feeling' which one of the best known of these poets commends in her, while it has without doubt

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conciliated the regard of many to whom poetry is as nothing, has not dried up the sources from which her sweet singers have drawn their inspiration. If she cannot claim more than a part of Milton, Crashaw, Wesley, or Newman, if there was nothing distinctly Anglican in the range of Cowper's religious ideas, yet at all events Herbert, Vaughan, and Keble are wholly hers, and we might extend the list by adding the names of Heber, Milman, and Trench. Into this honourable society we need not hesitate to admit Christina Rossetti as an equal. We are now for the first time able to see the whole series of her poems collected in one volume, and accompanied by a memoir and notes by her brother, Mr. W. M. Rossetti, to whom she was united by lifelong affection and constant companionship. No one who reads the memoir, and becomes acquainted with her parentage, family, and surroundings, need be surprised at her possessing poetical genius; but that it should have developed in the particular direction which it took from the first, and from which it never swerved—that she should have been so English, and so Anglican, is a paradox which surprises us the more the better we become acquainted with her life.

Gabriele Rossetti, a young Italian of promise, had to escape in disguise from Naples for political reasons. Having settled in London he supported himself by teaching Italian, was one of the original professors of King's College, and married the sister of Byron's physician, Dr. John Polidori, whose mother was English. Mrs. Rossetti was thus partly English by birth and seems to have been predominantly so by education and character. Her husband was a Liberal, or something more than a Liberal, both in religion and in politics. He published, however, in 1852, a volume of Italian religious poems, *L'Arpa Evangelica*. In his daughter's poems (p. 183 of the present edition) are two translations of one of these; it is of an ecstatic Christian type.

There were four children of the marriage: Maria, Dante Gabriel (the poet and painter), William, and Christina, who was the youngest of the family, and was born in December 1830. They were carefully and simply brought up; the means

of the parents were very small, and were carefully husbanded. We are told that it was a household 'of serious thinking and many intellectual interests—few of any other sort.' Almost all the formal teaching which the daughters got was imparted by the mother; and the elder daughter fully kept her lead in advance of the younger in all 'acquired knowledge.' Christina says of herself,<sup>1</sup> 'Besides the clever and cultivated parents who headed us all, I, in particular, beheld far ahead of myself the clever sister and the two clever brothers who were a little (though but a little) my seniors. And as to acquirements, I lagged out of all proportion behind them, and have never overtaken them to this day.'

No account of the mental training of one who was destined to acquire such a power of expressing her thoughts in exalted language should omit to state that she, like the rest of the family, was nurtured on Dante; but in the case of a future poet, it is perhaps of even more importance to inquire what chance a town-bred child may have had of seeing and hearing the sights and sounds of Nature, and of assimilating those influences which are so necessary to any writer of poetry whose excellences are not to be limited to that particular class of excellences in which Pope was supreme. Here, again, Christina's own words will help us:

'If one thing schooled me in the direction of poetry, it was, perhaps, the delightful idle liberty to prowling all alone about my grandfather's cottage-grounds, some thirty miles from London, entailing in my childhood a long stage-coach journey. . . . The grounds were quite small, and on the simplest scale—but in those days, to me, they were vast, varied, worth exploring.'

Alas! when the little girl was eight years old, Mrs. Polidori (the English grandmother, who was probably an important factor in fixing Christina's essential nationality) moved to London. This delightful liberty came to an end; and habit and poverty alike forbade an annual family excursion. The 'delight re-awakened at the sight of primroses in a railway cutting' would, we fear, have failed to stimulate the

<sup>1</sup> In a letter published in the very interesting essay 'Christina Rossetti,' which is one of Mr. Edmund Gosse's *Critical Kit-kats* (1896).

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jaded emotions of a modern girl of fourteen ; but Christina speaks of it as a 'prelude to many lovely country sights.' In 1853, the parents and daughters moved to Frome-Selwood, in Somerset, and made an attempt to start a day-school there. This venture soon came to an end, and they returned to London ; Christina, no doubt, with a renewed stock of country inspiration. It will be seen, we think, by those who study her poetry that, on the one hand, the glories of Nature—retained and revived by reflection and reading—have deeply affected her imagination ; that she has grasped the spiritual significance of ordinary natural phenomena ; but that, on the other hand, there is no trace of intimate personal observation, and certainly nothing of the luminous apprehension of details, previously unnoticed, which surprises and delights us in Tennyson. A slight indication of the extent to which Christina's ideas of external Nature had to depend on reminiscence or imagination is given by herself in a sonnet (p. 79), in which she says that she has to take nightingales 'on trust, for few and far between those actual summer moments are when I have heard what melody they make' ; a limitation, we may remark in passing, which few other writers of poetry would have had the humility to confess. And in her lines, nightingales, roses, lilies, the change of seasons, the hope of spring and the memory of autumn, the rising and setting sun, and an occasional glimpse of the distant sea, make up the usual stock of natural images ; and what variety there is is imparted by different shades of spiritual interpretation, rather than by any subtle observation of the ever-changing features of the phenomena themselves. We should wish, however, to draw attention to an instance, in *The Prince's Progress*, where she has stepped outside her usual boundaries, and given us an imaginative description of weird surroundings.

'The grass grew rare,  
A blight lurked in the darkening air,  
The very moss grew hueless and spare,  
The last daisy stood all astunt ;  
Behind his back the soil lay bare,  
But barer in front.

A land of chasm and rent, a land  
 Of rugged blackness on either hand ;  
 If water trickled its track was tanned  
     With an edge of rust to the chink ;  
 If one stamped on stone or on sand  
     It returned a clink.  
 A lifeless land, a loveless land,  
 Without lair or nest on either hand ;  
 Only scorpions jerked in the sand,  
     Black as black iron, or dusty pale ;  
 From point to point sheer rock was manned  
     By scorpions in mail.'

Christina was an early writer of verses, and, like most artists who have attained distinction in style, made many attempts before she found her wings. A small volume of her 'Verses' was privately printed in 1847. Shortly afterwards an event occurred which gave her a first vivid experience of personal happiness and sorrow, and coloured the whole of her subsequent life. The Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood—that noble revolt against conventional traditions in art—was formed in 1848; and young Dante Gabriel Rossetti became one of its most distinguished members. Another member, James Collinson, a man of devout impulses, scrupulous conscience, and uncertain resolves, fell in love with Christina. It is evident that she returned his affection, but his uneasy conscience had led him to take refuge in the Church of Rome; and there, after some hesitation and tergiversation, he remained. Christina was now fixed in her Anglican views, and her sense of duty and firmness of will induced her to cancel, on the ground of differences in religious belief, the engagement which she had, by that time, formed. But she seems to have suffered deeply and permanently. Her brother traces allusions to this sorrow in many passages of her poems; and as the particular poem (*From House to Home*) in connexion with which he notices this is dated eight years later, the effect cannot have been transient.

About this time a gradual but thorough revolution must have taken place in the society which surrounded the Rossettis. It changed from Italian to English. When the younger generation were children, few English, and many Italians,

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came to the house—banished Italians, patriots, politicians, and artists—many of them no doubt of interesting, and even noble, characters; but we feel sure that a shy and refined girl, like Christina, must have shrunk from the ‘fleshly, good-natured Neapolitans, keen Tuscans, emphatic Romans,’ who visited her father. But now the connexion with the Pre-Raphaelites brought a different influx: first of all, probably, young and unknown painters; but, later on, men of mark in artistic and literary circles. Mr. Rossetti mentions, among the distinguished men whose acquaintance his sister sooner or later made, Coventry Patmore, Burne Jones, William Morris, Ruskin, Robert Browning, and others. After the death, in 1854, of Gabriele Rossetti, the stream of Italians ceased to flow, and the influences became more purely English. Though Christina can never have tolerated the substitution of æsthetics for religion as a guide of life, yet the aspiration after purity in art would command her warmest sympathy, and her affection for her brother Dante Gabriel would attach her to his friends. She would therefore have probably enjoyed life more at this than at any other time but for three drawbacks: the memory of her love, the overscrupulousness of her conscience, and the pre-occupation caused by ill health. She had never been strong—the fear of consumption was on her for years, and, after it had passed away, a real disease of heart and throat began in 1871, the effects of which never left her. She outlived, however, all her nearest relations, except her brother William.

Christina's religion had been imbibed from her mother, had grown with her growth, and had become a part—the most essential part—of her nature. She was fortified by the example of her elder sister Maria, whose more accurate, logical, and confident mind impressed itself upon her junior as the mind of a superior person. Another consummate female artist, in a very different line—Jane Austen—seems to have had a similar reverence for her elder sister Cassandra; but in neither case did respect for the senior cramp the independent energy of the junior. Christina's serious faith became all her own, and was fortified, not by formal evidence (to which she paid but little attention), but, as we cannot

doubt, by the more intimate evidence of personal experience. Unfortunately, however, the anxious and timid scrupulousness of her nature led her to appropriate the terrors as well as the comforts of her faith; and though one may fairly deduce from many of her poems that hope and peace were not wholly absent, she was often troubled by fears, especially during her last sad days when flesh and spirit seemed failing at once.

An account of the latter half of Christina's life would be a record of much physical and mental suffering, many losses by death, a slowly growing fame, and a wealth of love and affectionate solicitude lavished by her on her relations and fully reciprocated by them. One other episode of love was to be hers, and it was brought to an end by her own action grounded on reasons parallel to those which had induced her to cancel her earlier engagement. Mr. Charles Bagot Cayley, brother of the celebrated Cambridge professor, seems to have been a man of scholarly tastes and unworldly character. But in this case too little, as in the other too much, belief convinced her that he ought not to be her husband, and she seems to have suffered a second time in obeying the dictates of her conscience.

Her love for her mother was so deep as to be beyond the power of words; that for her sister was tempered, as we have said, by the respect due to a superior being; while her two brothers also enjoyed a full measure of her affection. Dante Gabriel often took her portrait in pencil, and sometimes introduced her features into his pictures; it seems, indeed, that the head of the Virgin in 'Ecce Ancilla Domini,' in the Tate Gallery, was originally studied from his sister. As a friendly critic of her poems—for the difference in the bent of their minds seems hardly to have interfered with their appreciation of each other's poetic genius—he was outspoken and fearless. In objecting to what he calls 'a falsetto muscularity' in some stanzas of *The Lowest Room* he adds, 'everything in which this tone appears is utterly foreign to your primary impulses,' a remark which shows how sound he believed those impulses to be. After the death of Dante Rossetti's wife in 1862, he proposed that the family should join with him in a new

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residence. The party was to include Mrs. Rossetti, her sons and daughters, an invalid maiden aunt, Margaret Polidori, and — Mr. Algernon Swinburne. This design was not carried out, but the abandonment of the plan did not arise from any unwillingness on the part of mother or daughters. At the time of the marriage of William Rossetti, in 1874, Maria had joined an Anglican sisterhood, and Christina and her mother for a time lived with the married couple. This arrangement came to an end in 1876, and she then remained alone with her mother until the death of the latter in 1886. She herself lived on until December, 1894.

Mr. Ford Madox Hueffer<sup>1</sup> gives us a description of Christina sitting, quiet and comparatively unregarded, in the midst of a circle of ardent, brilliant men. Mr. Gosse likens her, in such an assembly, to 'a pillar of cloud, a Sibyl whom no one had the audacity to approach.' Her shyness and aloofness made her formidable to the young, but to those who were bold enough to penetrate her constitutional reserve she was simple, kind, and open-hearted. How open her heart was to the ideas and loves of childhood we should hardly be in a position to judge, were it not for the exquisite playfulness and innocence of her 'sing-song' verses for children. The conversation of the distinguished men who surrounded the Rossettis must have been stimulating to her intellect, however little she joined in it: it probably helped her to acquire insight into her own mental resources, to see where her strength lay, and what tasks she could not attempt. She belonged at one time to a society of poets and amateur artists, which called itself 'The Portfolio,' and met in private houses at irregular intervals. For each meeting a subject was arranged, to be described either by picture or verse. Among the poetical members of this society were Calverley, Lewis Morris, Adelaide Procter, Jean Ingelow, and Isa Craig. We believe that one of Christina's contributions to this society was the celebrated *Up-hill*, published afterwards in *Macmillan's Magazine* (February 1861). Another was *A Year's Windfalls* (p. 355). Several of Calverley's best-known pieces (e.g. *Waiting*) were written for the 'Portfolio.' If he and

<sup>1</sup> *Fortnightly Review*, March 1904.

Christina ever attended the same meetings, and wrote on the same prescribed subjects, the contrast would no doubt be instructive.

She made two short foreign tours with some of her family, one to France, and one to Italy. How deeply she was affected by seeing the land of her forefathers, and how she after all valued the home of her adoption, is shown in two short poems on p. 377. The first is called *En Route* and is an outpouring of enthusiasm over her father's country.

' Farewell, land of love, Italy,  
Sister-land of Paradise ;  
With mine own feet have I trodden thee,  
Have seen with mine own eyes !'

The other poem, *Enrica*, describes a warm-hearted Italian woman who made her home in England for a time. The contrast between the Italian 'woman in her natural grace' and the 'trim correct' English women is dwelt upon.

' But if she found us like our sea,  
Of aspect colourless and chill,  
Rock-girt,—like it she found us still  
Deep at our deepest—strong and free.'

All this time she was living a religious, almost ascetic life ; and from 1876 onwards she became more and more a recluse. It was a little before this that an incident occurred, which is related by Mr. Gosse, and which should be read in his own words. It was an attempt, ultimately successful, on his part to induce her to sign a memorial against the destruction of a portion of the New Forest. Christina signed, but not without pausing once or twice during the operation to make sure that she was not impeding the building of church or school-house by her action. It seems her signature was to carry with it that of Mr. Swinburne.

It is not easy to make out from Mr. Rossetti's Memoir which of the numerous drawings of his sister he has used as a frontispiece ; but one need only look at this drawing and read his account of her appearance, to feel sure that, without being beautiful she was comely in youth. Her colour and

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her fine voice proclaimed her Italian origin. As she grew older, ill-health as well as age marred her features; and she gave herself no assistance by her dress. 'Her dark hair,' says Mr. Gosse, 'was streaked across her olive forehead and turned up in a chignon; the high stiff dress ended in a hard collar and plain brooch, the extraordinarily ordinary skirt sank over a belated crinoline.' This, he adds, 'was hard to bear from the high-priestess of Pre-Raphaelitism.' But even so—even if the comeliness of youth and health were wholly past—one regrets that the proposal of Mr. Watts to take her portrait did not bear fruit: for that would have been a distinction which she well merited, and which seems appropriate to the eminent men and women of her generation.

We have ventured to dwell on the life and personal characteristics of Christina Rossetti, because we think that, though the history is modern, it is known only to a few; and it is doubtful whether the readers of her poetry would make up a much larger circle. We believe, indeed, that she is a writer who not only has been, but from the nature of the case is always likely to be, unjustly depreciated; and for this reason. In order to gain a fair idea of her merits—in order to enable a just impression of the essential nobility of her thoughts and her language to sink into the mind, it is necessary to read a good many of her poems: and it is not easy to read many short poems where the range is limited, the touch unsure, and the merits unequal. When we speak of unsureness of touch we mean that it is by no means certain that the poem will be a complete and perfect picture, with every division of its subject in the right place, and the proper amount of value given to each part. In the shorter poems of Wordsworth it often occurs to the reader that he proceeds through the stanzas with but a moderate amount of emotion until the last couplet, or even the last line, gives the cue to the meaning of the whole, throws every part into its right place, and forces him to re-cast his opinion and probably to read the verses again in a different spirit. It will hardly fare with him thus when he reads Christina. Indeed, he may find a rather provoking want of point at the end of a series of noble lines. But let him persevere: and we are much

mistaken if he do not gradually feel that he is in the presence of a superior spirit ; if he do not either read further and further, or else return again and again to his favourites.

After all, her place among poets must depend on the answer to the eternal questions, what is the true definition of poetry ? and what objects should it pursue ? If it be a main function of poetry to convey us into an ideal world, to give dignity to common objects and common persons by bringing them face to face with eternal relations, to open to our vision the spiritual realities underlying phenomena, and to do all this by the vehicle of pure and noble language—if this be the function of poets, then her place in the hierarchy is assured. But, if it be required of the bard that he should also be a subtle dissector of human character, a depicter of vivid and stirring action, a master of passion as well as emotion, to these qualities she can lay little or no claim. On that side of imagination which issues in invention rather than reflection, she was ill-equipped ; and though she could occasionally be gorgeous in colouring (so as to show one direction in which her Italian nature might have led her, had it not been controlled by her ascetic scrupulousness), yet strong situations and sharp contrasts do not sit well on her. We have seen that her brother objected in one instance to a ‘falsetto muscularity’ in his sister. The poem which fell under this fraternal criticism, *The Lowest Room*, is a conversation between two sisters. The elder is dissatisfied with her lot and her times, and reads Homer with a desire for the heroic—

‘He stirs my sluggish pulse like wine,  
He melts me like the wind of spice,  
Strong as strong Ajax’ red right hand,  
And grand like Juno’s eyes.’

‘Crest-rearing kings with whistling spears ;  
But if these shivered in the shock  
They wrenched up hundred-rooted trees  
Or hurled the effacing rock.’

This last, we think, must have been the muscular stanza. The younger sister modestly enforces the lesson of content-

ment, and the superior power of shaping our own lives given to us 'who learn of Christ.'

"But life is in our hands," she said :

"In our own hands for gain or loss :  
Shall not the sevenfold sacred fire  
Suffice to purge our dross ?

Too short a century of dreams,  
One day of work sufficient length :  
Why should not you, why should not I,  
Attain heroic strength ?

Our life is given us as a blank,  
Ourselves must make it blest or curst."

This is really the prevailing tone of the poem, and it more than counteracts the short lapse into sound and fury.

The most famous of the longer poems are *Goblin Market* (1859), *From House to Home* (1858), and *The Prince's Progress* (1865). The first of these is rather too well known to quote ; we will therefore merely note the fact that it contains excellent instances of Christina's love of colour and delicate aerial fancy, while it also illustrates a great negative merit of the writer to which Mr. Hueffer has drawn attention—viz. that she never preaches. The reader is introduced to society which ought to do him good ; but he must draw his own morals.

*From House to Home* begins with a strong resemblance to *The Palace of Art* ; but the author declined to act on a hint of her brother Dante that she should make it less like.

'My pleasaunce was an undulating green,  
Stately with trees whose shadows slept below,  
With glimpses of smooth garden-beds between  
Like flame or sky or snow.'

'Oft-times one like an angel walked with me,  
With spirit-discerning eyes like flames of fire  
But deep as the unfathomed endless sea,  
Fulfilling my desire.'

But her loved companion leaves her; the earthly paradise which she has created becomes gloomy, and she falls upon the 'frost-bound floor' with spirit and heart broken.

'Then life swooned from me. And I heard the song  
Of spheres and spirits rejoicing over me;  
One cried: "Our sister, she hath suffered long,"  
One answered: "Make her see."

The illuminating vision is a vision of a faithful sufferer rewarded by the bliss of heaven, of which there is a splendid description, at the highest level of her poetical elevation:

'Each face looked one way like a moon new-lit,  
Each face looked one way towards its Sun of Love;  
Drank love and bathed in love and mirrored it,  
And knew no end thereof.'

As the result of the vision, the speaker is at last endowed with patience and resignation:

'Although to-day I walk in tedious ways,  
To-day his staff is turned into a rod,  
Yet will I wait for him the appointed days  
And stay upon my God.'

*The Prince's Progress*, like *Maud*, grew out of a song or dirge; and in each case, perhaps, the bud is even finer than the flower. It seems that the expansion of the dirge sung over the Princess into a poem was undertaken in obedience to a suggestion of Dante Rossetti. The spell-bound Princess is to wake on the arrival of the Prince. He, strong of limb but weak of purpose, starts late and falls into temptation by the way. When he arrives she is being carried out to burial.

'Too late for love, too late for joy,  
Too late, too late!  
You loitered on the road too long,  
You trifled at the gate.'

These poems all belong to the earlier years of the poet's maturity; but we wish to draw attention to a later piece (dated 'Before 1882') which is both very beautiful and very characteristic of the author's mood. *An Old-world Thicket*

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is a sleeping or waking vision of an enchanted wood peopled  
by lovely birds :

'Such birds they seemed as challenged each desire  
Like spots of azure heaven upon the wing,  
Like downy emeralds that alight and sing,  
Like actual coals on fire,  
Like anything they seemed, and everything.

Such mirth they made, such warblings and such chat,  
With tongue of music in a well-tuned beak,  
They seemed to speak more music than we speak,  
To make our music flat,  
And all our subtlest reasons wild or weak.'

Other delights are at hand :

'A sound of waters neither rose nor sank,  
And spread a sense of freshness through the air.'

But the seer is only overwhelmed at the contrast of this  
beauty with the misery of her own life,

'Self stabbing self with keen lack-pity knife,'

and will look no longer. By degrees the glory without  
changes to gloom and sadness :

'Bird ceased to answer bird  
And every wind sighed softly if it stirred.  
The drip of widening waters seemed to weep,  
All fountains sobbed and gurgled as they sprang.'

The mood of the speaker becomes rebellious without losing  
its misery :

'Then fierce and free  
Surged full above my head  
The moaning tide of helpless misery.'

She imagines herself convinced of the futility of life, and yet  
as clinging to it :

'Void of repentance, void of hope and fear,  
Of possibility, alternative,  
Of all that ever made us bear to live  
From night till morning here,  
Of promise even which has no gift to give.'

But now external Nature seems to begin to sympathize, 'mourning with me in an undertone.' Her rage turns to despair, despair to self-pity and weariness, and weariness leads to yearnings which have hope of consolation.

'Then I looked up. The wood lay in a glow  
From golden sunset and from ruddy sky ;  
The sun had stooped to earth, though once so high ;  
Had stooped to earth, in slow  
Warm dying loveliness brought near and low.'

The description of the golden sunset lighting up every object, animate or inanimate, and of a flock of sheep filing peacefully and obediently home in the failing light, completes the poem. No further hint of the writer's altered mood is given—it seems as if she were afraid to appropriate to herself the comfort which she suggests to her readers. It is this shrinking from the confidence of hope, as well as the warm colouring of the earlier part of the poem, the nobility of language throughout, and the aching sense of the responsibilities of life, which make the piece an excellent epitome of the genius and mood of the writer.

It is natural to dwell first upon the longer and more ambitious works of an author ; but it must be allowed that, in this case, a certain weakness of constructive power prevents these works from showing her at her best, and it is to the shorter pieces that the reader will soonest turn and oftenest recur. There he may wander at large among sonnets, songs, ballads, lyrical and reflective stanzas, and enjoy without drawback her pure imagination and noble language ; but he must exercise a certain amount of selection. She published during her lifetime several volumes, including a collection of devotional poems ; and the secular poems were afterwards issued in a collected form, which might perhaps have been expected to be final. But after her death her brother William (in 1896) brought out a further series, which she must have either omitted or declined to publish ; and these are all included in the book now under notice. It is always a question of literary propriety difficult to decide, how far such posthumous publications are justifiable. The posthumous

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works (where the author has had plenty of time to publish them and deliberately declined to do so) are likely to be inferior specimens of his art ; but those readers who have become thorough lovers and partisans of a writer will always hunger for scraps, and be grateful for broken meat after the real feast is finished. In Christina Rossetti's case the result is perhaps unfortunate ; for the bulk of the works is considerable, and the inclusion of so many adds to the impression of inequality which a perusal of her poems will, in any case, present. She had, for instance, a singular power over rhymes ; she could deal with the complicated rhyme-system of a sonnet, or with the still more cramping plan of a single rhyme extended through every stanza of a poem (as for instance in the lines on France, p. 387, and in *Passing Away*, p. 191) without its fettering the free movement of thought ; and yet in one of her sonnets she allows three alternate lines out of the last six to end with the rhymes, *ease, peace, watches*. Her treatment of metre, again, in her best poems was most happy ; whether keeping to uniform metre as such, or developing it in freer rhythm ; but the line

‘And blue-black beetles transact business’

cannot be said to be a good line in any metre ; and it certainly has but a remote relation to the particular metrical system into which it is intended to fit. But though it is necessary to make a selection, the list of the select is much too large to be mentioned within the limits of an article, and if we mention a few we can but choose them at random from the chosen. How beautiful, for instance, is this verse from *Dream Love* (p. 312):

‘Young love lies dreaming ;  
But who shall tell the dream ?  
A perfect sunlight  
On rustling forest tips ;  
Or perfect moonlight  
Upon a rippling stream ;  
Or perfect silence,  
Or song of cherished lips.’

Or note again these lines from *A Bride Song* (p. 390), written with an expansive happiness somewhat foreign to her usual tone :

‘Through the vales to my love !  
 In sweet April hours  
 All rainbows and showers,  
 While dove answers dove—  
 In beautiful May,  
 When the orchards are tender  
 And frothing with flowers,—  
 In opulent June,  
 When the wheat stands up slender  
 By sweet-smelling hay,  
 And half the sun’s splendour  
 Descends to the moon.’

We would venture to send our readers, for reflective poems to *The First Spring Day* (p. 314), *L. E. L.* (p. 344) ; for sonnets, to *A Dimness of a Glory* (p. 384), *Venus’ Looking-Glass* (p. 387), *Resurgam* (p. 412) ; for ballads to *Jessie Cameron* (p. 371), and *Johnny* (p. 399) ; and for songs, to any that he may be fortunate enough to find spread over the volume ; he can no more go wrong in the choice, than she could in the writing, of such compositions.

It may seem strange that after the claim made for the inclusion of Christina Rossetti among the principal sacred poets of our Church, little or nothing should have been said of her devotional poems, which occupy a great part of the present volume ; but the fact is that, in her case, the difference between devotional and general poems is nominal, not essential. Christina was not a theologian ; and though her knowledge of the Bible was profound, she did not usually introduce Bible stories into her verses. Her sacred poems have reference almost exclusively to the relation between God and the believer, the imperfection of human effort, the awful issues of life and death, and the hope of eternity ; and these are also the themes of many of her so-called secular works. What has been said about the one class will apply therefore to the other. There is the same pure imagination, the same noble language, the same abasement of self. Her brother had

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the following verse from one of them inscribed upon her tomb :

' Give me the lowest place : or if for me  
That lowest place too high, make one more low  
Where I may sit and see  
My God and love thee so.'

Her habitual mood was that of one ' In hope and fear persistent more and more,' hoping faintly that love will at length breed love ' sufficient bliss for life and death and rising up again,' but fearing, when she looks forward to the ' long last hours, so long while yet they fly,' lest she may ' miss the goal at last, may miss a crown.' She was not affected by the gloomy Calvinism which played such havoc with Cowper's happiness, nor was her well-balanced mind ever unhinged, as his undoubtedly sometimes was. Her spiritual fears were merely the penalty she had to pay for a sensitive conscience allied to a vivid imagination. We decline to look upon this occasional depression as a dominant factor in her life ; we will rather end by quoting a sonnet which, we feel sure, gives expression to the real attitude of mind of one whose character was as saintly as her endowments were unusual.

#### RESURGAM.

' From depth to height, from height to loftier height,  
The climber sets his foot and sets his face,  
Tracks lingering sunbeams to their halting-place,  
And counts the last pulsations of the light.  
Strenuous thro' day and unsurprised by night,  
He runs a race with Time and wins the race,  
Emptied and stripped of all save only Grace,  
Will, Love, a threefold panoply of might.  
Darkness descends for light he toiled to seek ;  
He stumbles on the darkened mountain-head,  
Left breathless in the unbreathable thin air,  
Made freeman of the living and the dead :—  
He wots not he has topped the topmost peak,  
But the returning sun will find him there.'

## ART. IV.—THE RETURN OF THE CATECHIST.

1. *The Catechist's Handbook.* By J. N. NEWLAND-SMITH, M.A., Assistant Diocesan Inspector of Schools for the Diocese of London. (London: Grant Richards, 1903.)
2. *The Church Catechism Explained.* By ARTHUR W. ROBINSON, B.D., Warden of the Mission College of All Hallows, Barking. Stereotyped Edition. (Cambridge: University Press, 1899.)
3. *Notes for One Year's Sunday School Lessons.* By Archdeacon WILSON. Series I.—V. (Manchester: *The Northern Churchman* Office; London: Heywood, 1897–1900.)
4. *Lessons for the Primary Class; being Bible Lessons introductory to Lessons and Catechizings on the Catechism.* By FLORENCE LONGRIDGE. With a Preface by the Right Rev. E. A. KNOX, D.D. (Oxford: Mowbray, 1903.)
5. *The Teaching of the Catechism.* By BEATRICE A. WARD, B.Sc. (London: Longmans, 1904.)
6. *My Catechism Book.* (Oxford: Mowbray, 1904.)
7. *The Story of the Gospels.* For the use of Children. By the Author of *Charles Lowder*. Second Edition. (Oxford: Mowbray, 1901.)
8. *The Early Story of Israel.* By EVELYN L. THOMAS. (London: Longmans, 1904.)
9. *The Story of Our Lord's Life.* By MAUD MONTGOMERY. (London: Longmans, 1904.)
10. *Old Testament History for Schools.* By T. C. FRY, D.D., Headmaster of Berkhamsted School. (London: E. Arnold, 1904.)
11. *Letters to a Godson.* Second Series: Christian Doctrine. By M. CYRIL BICKERSTETH, M.A., of the Community of the Resurrection. (Oxford: Mowbray, 1902.)
12. *Handbook to the Book of Common Prayer.* By BERNARD REYNOLDS, M.A., Archbishop's Inspector of Training Colleges, &c. (London: Rivingtons, 1903.)

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13. *The Church Catechism: The Christian's Manual.* By W. C. E. NEWBOLT, M.A., Canon and Chancellor of St. Paul's. (London: Longmans, 1903.)
14. *Definite Church Teaching.* By SAMUEL HEALY. (Oxford: Mowbray, 1903.)
15. *A Longer Catechism.* By H. E. HALL, M.A. (London: Knott, 1902.)
16. *Prayer Book Teaching.* By JAMES ADDERLEY. (London: Wells Gardner, 1904.)

THERE are signs abroad of an abundance of rain. After a spiritual drought so long continued that the souls of the people of England have ceased to put forth either flowers or fruit—have ceased almost to burgeon at all—the rain is beginning to drop. In other words, the clergy are beginning to carry out the duties of their office and to instruct ‘diligently.’ And it is full time. Recent investigations have proved that the Church has lost ground during the last quarter of a century; further comparison with a Parliamentary return of 1851 shows that the loss has been steadily continued during more than half a century. Yet even in 1851 the Church was but the wreck of what she had been in former ages, when the English nation was a nation of communicants. There is doubtless more than one reason for this decline; but foremost among the causes must be placed the sloth in teaching which has been a salient sin of the clergy for more than one century past. First among the promises which every priest makes at his ordination is this, that he will instruct the people committed to his charge; and this vow is followed by three others which are all closely bound up with the duty of teaching. Yet our clergy became distinguished among the pastors of Christendom for their inability to teach; they were preachers, but not teachers, in strange reversal of their vows. Now, among the duties which they were ordered to do is that of catechizing on about eighty-five days in the year; for on every holy day, as well as on every Sunday, the curate is ordered to instruct the children and young people in the Church Catechism, and those who are responsible for ‘children, servants, and prentices’

are ordered to send them to church for this purpose. So little was this done that in 1781 a Gloucester printer, Robert Raikes, started the Sunday-school, a device by which the laity have endeavoured to do what the clergy were paid to do. The fact that Raikes has been commonly regarded as the originator of a new and wonderful reform—to wit, the religious education of the young on Sundays—shows how completely the clergy had forgotten that obvious duty.

The clergy welcomed the movement, and for a century self-sacrificing laymen endeavoured to teach religion by means of the Sunday-school, with the co-operation of the clergy. By the time of the Raikes centenary, twenty-three years ago, many clergy had gone further, and children's services had become common in the Church of England, though not among the Nonconformists. But the children's service was not the diligent instruction of children in the Catechism; it was generally the well-meant effort of clergy who did not know how to teach—a shortened Evensong, with a shortened sermon. The tradition, in fact, had been lost; the clergy could preach (at least, some of them could), but they could not teach. How should they? They did not learn it at the university; they did not learn it at the theological college; they did not learn it as assistant curates, for their vicars knew less about it than themselves. And they could not learn it from books. For what books were there? If anyone is sceptical as to the badness of religious teaching a very few years ago, let him look at the books which the clergy had to use. Let him compare these books with those on the teaching of secular subjects; let him compare the untrained parson with the carefully trained secular teacher, and he will understand why it is that such amazing ignorance of the simplest points characterizes the theology of the Houses of Parliament and the newspapers. Let him further remember that the masses of the people were not taught even by the parson, but were taught in Sunday-schools, without any system and with little discipline, by those who for the most part were young men and unmarried women, without the least of experience or training—and he will realize how it is that there is no result. Perhaps ninety per cent. of the present generation of working men have been

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through the Sunday-school, but not five per cent. now come to church or chapel, and probably not more than one or two per cent. are communicants. No failure could have been more abject than that of the Sunday teaching of the last century. And when we remember that it was aided throughout the whole week by Bible teaching in all the schools, and by Church teaching in half of them, the thing becomes a marvel that jerks the brain, and all the education controversy of the past two years seems some huge joke created by English Christendom at her own expense.

But there are signs of an abundance of rain. The future is not going to be like the past. Such books as those which head this article are the little clouds which will dispel the long spiritual drought. The rain has, in fact, begun to fall, and there are already well-watered patches in the Anglican desert that are green with life. It is now about ten years since a few men began to popularize the Method of St. Sulpice, and their work was a revelation to those who had been trying to teach religion, but did not know how to begin—who only felt that the system they were engaged in was futile. It is also just ten years since Mr. A. W. Robinson produced, in his *Church Catechism Explained*, a new sort of book, a book that one could lend to an educated agnostic; a book that one could explain to public-school boys; a book that one could read with delight and enlightenment before one sat down to prepare one's own weekly catechetical work. Other contributions followed—for instance, Archdeacon Wilson's far too little known *Notes for Sunday School Lessons*, which put at the disposal of the teacher the best results of modern thought and scholarship, and would serve as a storehouse for the preacher as well. On the other side the splendid pioneer work of Mr. Spencer Jones was followed up by famous teachers like Dr. Chandler, now Bishop of Bloemfontein, who passed from being the most popular 'Greats' lecturer at Oxford to become the most successful catechist in East London.

In fact, the clergy now have the tools in their hands, and many have already got to work. And the importance of tools cannot be exaggerated. The longer one teaches, the more one learns the necessity of thorough preparation by

using the experience of others. Miss Longridge rightly says that she

'Is not one of those who fear that too much may be done to help the teacher. However much help written or oral lesson-notes may give, they leave plenty to be done. . . . The following questions, self asked and answered each Sunday, will show deficiencies. Over these, preparation time can be more usefully spent than in providing matter which good lesson-notes can give, or in finding out, each for himself, general rules of method which the experience of others can supply, but which thoughtful use only can make successful.'

If this be true of the practised teacher, how much more is it true of the majority of the clergy, who do not yet know how to teach at all?

But if such books as those we have mentioned are indispensable, much more is a general book like Mr. Newland-Smith's, which is not a tool but a whole box of tools—not a mere book, but a library *in nuce*. It is really a necessity for the parish priest, because it sums up the methods of teaching, from the Great Catechism to the Sunday-school, from the club to the 'Perseverance'; it tackles the problems with the wisdom of experience, with the frankness of courage. Here we have Sunday-school methods brought into line with the efficiency of the Day-school, and the plan of St. Sulpice improved by many practical amendments that have been discovered since 'The Catechism' was first tried in England. A diocesan inspector has exceptional opportunities for testing the experiments that are being made, and Mr. Newland-Smith has used his opportunities.

It is curious how little England has contributed to scientific methods of education: Sweden, Germany, Switzerland, France teach us how to give physical, mental, and spiritual training. The result of his observations has been to make Mr. Newland-Smith a convinced supporter of the French system. It may be worth while here to summarize, for the benefit of those to whom it is unfamiliar, the 'Catechism' according to the method of St. Sulpice, as it is described by Mr. Newland-Smith, and in the standard works on the subject.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bishop Dupanloup's *The Ministry of Catechising* (Griffith, Farren); Mr. Spencer Jones' *The Clergy and the Catechism* (Skeffington); and Bishop Chandler's *The Greater Catechism at Work* (Mowbray).

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(1) The 'Catechism' consists of three principal exercises: the 'Questioning,' the 'Instruction,' and the 'Homily,' each taken from the pulpit, and separated one from the other by prayers, hymns, admonitions, the reading of marks, and other exercises, the Homily being preceded by the reading of the Gospel. It is held by the Society of the Catechism (which is at once a society of Churchmen who use the Method and a federation of parochial 'Catechisms') that the three principal exercises are essential to the Method; and of these the Instruction is the most important. During the Instruction (which is carefully divided into 'points') the children take notes—boards, paper, and pencils being provided; from these notes they write 'Analyses,' which are short essays that they bring to church on the following Sunday; these Analyses are collected by the Catechists, marked during the week, and returned on the next Sunday. Marks are also given for the answers to the Questioning; and prizes are given each quarter at the 'Quarterly Festival' in such a way that all are rewarded for work done. As the Questioning commences, so the Homily (which is a very short and simple sermon) concludes the Catechism; in France the whole lasts about two hours, in the English adaptations one hour only. (2) Order is very carefully maintained in the 'Catechism' by a thorough monitorial system. No strangers are allowed inside the part of the church that is reserved for the 'Catechism.' Each 'member' has his allotted seat, all pews or rows being lettered and the seats of absentees left carefully vacant; each row has a 'Monitor' at the head, who marks the attendance of his row on a card and otherwise looks after the row. Every fourth row has an 'Intendant,' who marks and looks after the Monitors. The 'Head Catechist' (when not in the pulpit or conducting the prayers in the midst of the Church) sits in a raised 'throne' or chair in front of the chancel with a table before him; three 'Assistant Catechists' (if possible) are installed in other coigns of vantage, where they mark for the Questioning, &c.; and the three principal exercises are distributed as far as possible between the different Catechists, so as to secure variety of voice and manner. (3) There are three entirely separate 'Catechisms' for those of different ages,

a cardinal principle being that old and young cannot be instructed together. These are the 'Little Catechism' (for children between eight and twelve); the 'Great Catechism,' or 'the Catechism,' as it is often called (for those between twelve and sixteen); and the 'Catechism of Perseverance,' for those above the age of sixteen. The age limit varies slightly in different parishes, but when fixed it is rigidly adhered to, each 'member' being promoted from row to row, and from the Little to the Great Catechism, at the Festival after his birthday. Still, Mr. Newland-Smith does not advocate the hasty abolition of the Sunday-school. He devotes two chapters to it, and shows in many other parts of the book how it may be made far more useful than it is. But, all the same, it is significant that there is a great deal of St. Sulpice in this reformed Sunday-school. And this we notice also in Miss Longridge's book, which deals with the Sunday-school only (indeed, the children she writes for are below the age even of 'Little Catechism' children). She recommends that all the classes shall be taken together by one teacher, the other 'teachers' being given monitorial duties. But this is to make a 'Catechism,' and not a Sunday-school at all in the ordinary sense. Further, she recommends a 'Picture Sunday,' which is but the 'Catechism Festival' of St. Sulpice writ small.

When the utmost is done to set the Sunday-school on its legs, it remains a very poor substitute for the method of the Prayer Book—the catechizing of the children in church; and it is the attempt to organize this form of instruction that leads educational reformers to adopt the French methods, which are so valuable mainly because they represent the stored wisdom of an unbroken tradition of many centuries. Mr. Newland-Smith reminds us that even if Sunday-schools could be made efficient they would still leave unsolved one of the worst of our evils—the failure to give religious instruction to upper and middle class children. At present

'Their parents think that their children are taught at school; the schoolmaster thinks that they are taught, or ought to be taught, at home, with the result that the unfortunate children receive no

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definite instruction whatever, and are left to glean a few fragments of religious knowledge as best they can.'

Perhaps if public-school masters study the *Catechist's Handbook* a new era will begin ; for it would be easy to run the most splendid 'Catechism' in public schools on the lines there laid down. The parish priest, certainly, can only teach upper and middle class children by catechizing in church ; and he will not get them there together unless he adopts the rigid allotment of seats and rows, which is one of the sheet-anchors of the 'Method.' If he does this he will find, as Mr. Newland-Smith has found, that it is quite easy to have children of all classes in the same 'Catechism,' and that the poor children often do better, even in the trained work of analysis-writing, than the rich.

This is, as we have seen, another essential of the method of St. Sulpice. Analyses or essays are written by the children of the Great Catechism (their ages range from eleven or twelve to sixteen or eighteen), and carefully corrected and marked : at once the children become keen, and take an intelligent interest in the Instruction, and, what is equally important, the catechist becomes systematic and thorough in his work ; he finds out his weak points from the children, who are unconsciously a board of examiners testing his Instructions. With regard to another characteristic of the 'Method,' the exercise known as 'the Questioning,' Mr. Newland-Smith has found that for the children of the Great Catechism the questions should not be set and learnt beforehand, as is done in France. In this, as in many other points, he has improved both on the original and on the earlier adaptations ; for St. Sulpice has its faults, as anyone who is acquainted with the religion of France would guess.

Herein lies the difficulty. To everyone who studies the method of St. Sulpice it is a revelation, and everyone who is improving his methods seems to owe most of his progress to it. But it has to be considerably adapted and altered ; and there are pitfalls on either side. There is the danger on the one hand of sticking too closely to the original, resulting in a certain narrowness and low intellectual level. On the other hand,

there is a very real danger, as Mr. Newland-Smith points out, of the clergy adopting one or two minor points of the 'Method,' and then calling their children's service 'The Catechism,' when they have not learnt to distinguish between essentials and accidents. The remedy lies in careful experiments by really wise catechists, not in every parish priest inventing a system of his own out of Dupanloup, which would result in another dead level of complacent failures. The special interest of the *Catechist's Handbook* is that its author has himself made many experiments in the 'Catechism' since it was first introduced in England, and has been able to improve it in several ways, as for instance in the method of marking and prize-giving. Thus the admirable work of the pioneers is carried a point further, and the result seems very like perfection for those who will take the trouble to master the detail upon which good teaching so largely depends.

There is another form of teaching—rare, alas ! now among the well-to-do, and almost unknown among the working classes—the instruction of children by their parents ; instruction of this kind when worthy of the name has often proved most efficient. During the lengthy retirement of the English clergy, it was practically the only form of religious teaching which survived ; and, being almost confined to a small section of society, it seemed that only in that section did Christianity as a living faith survive at all. The English language has preserved the fact in the phrase 'my mother's knee,' which may be called proverbial ; and it is noticeable that it is not the father's knee, still less the curate's knee, to which this locution does homage—it was the women of the upper and middle classes who heroically held the last ditch against the forces of ignorance and secularism. They still do so in many an inefficient parish ; and in places where the 'curate of the parish' does diligently do his duty there is always a little knot of women who teach their own children with great care.

Now, this maternal education is invaluable where it may be had, because it is education rather than instruction. When the mother has the gift of teaching, wedded to a real spirituality and backed by real labour in preparation, the little home-class becomes a delight and a blessing to both parties.

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But, of course, these are only a fraction of the teaching mothers, and the teaching mothers are only a fraction of the church-going mothers, and the church-going mothers are only a fraction of the mothers of England. So that we cannot hope for any very extended results. And the average mother is not a theologian. If upper-class Englishmen owe many spiritual lessons to their mother's knee, they also owe many prejudices and narrownesses. Can this be improved in the future? The list at the head of this article suggests that it can. For books are now being written which place a sensible theology at the disposal of the parent.

For the child of ten or eleven Miss Ward's *Teaching of the Catechism* is admirable: it belongs to the series of 'Simple Guides to Christian Knowledge,' which Miss Florence Robinson is editing, and the volumes of which are all charmingly printed and bound and illustrated. Miss Ward's book does not, however, meet the case of the child of seven or eight. It is here that we are still weakest. Mrs. Montgomery commences her *Story of Our Lord's Life* with a great effort at simplicity, and we begin to hope for our eight-year-old; but she soon drifts into the ten-year-old style, and often ranges up to eleven and twelve; and when we say that Mrs. Thomas begins her book, *The Early Story of Israel*, with cuneiform inscriptions, it is needless to say that she writes for the big girl of the high school or the fifth-form boy: she does so with great skill, and has produced a work beautifully illustrated and well arranged, but it is for young people and not for children. The parent is still left to *Peep of Day* for his younger children, and he has to use it in spite of its crude theology, since no one has yet filled its place. He has to go over it with a blue pencil and scratch out such lines as 'Mary called her baby her Saviour, for she knew that He would save her from hell.' But how well that writer understood children! Even at her crudest:

'Now, if I fight—and scratch and bite,  
In passions fall—and bad names call,  
Full well I know—where I shall go.  
Satan is glad—when I am bad,  
And hopes that I—with him shall lie  
In fire and chains—and dreadful pains.'

Even here she at least knows her audience, and at her best how good she is ! For instance :

‘Another time the disciples were unkind to some poor little children. Some poor women brought the children to Jesus ; but the disciples were standing round, and they would not let the women come near.

“Go away,” they said ; “you must not bring the babies here to trouble us.”

‘But Jesus heard them speak and was very angry with the disciples. Jesus would not let the children go away.

‘He said to the disciples : “Suffer them to come to Me : do not send them away.”

‘Then He took the children in His arms . . .’

We have nothing before us like this. No one seems to be able nowadays to write a story as one tells it to quite little children. Not one of our Church writers even understands the first art of writing in short paragraphs, except in a measure the author of *The Story of the Gospels*. *Peep of Day* continues to hold the field ; and the same writer's *Near Home* still imbues the infant mind with that excessive aversion to the Pope which brings forth much fruit when the children grow up to be publicists and politicians : ‘He says he is like Peter the Apostle ; but Peter obeyed the Word of God, and the Pope does not.’ It is so simple a solution of ecclesiastical difficulties. And nowadays we are so complex that our children still read the old simple writers ! A quarter of a century ago *Peep of Day* had sold its half-million copies ; and it still goes on by the hundred thousand, because we are so complex, and our children persist in being simple children ! The youngest book in our list is *My Catechism Book*, which is really the best attempt we have seen to provide for a child of eight or nine, though the writer has not the genius of the author of *Peep of Day*. It will be a boon to many parents and god-parents. There are plenty of pictures which point the lesson, though we wish an artist had been employed to provide something less amateurish and less feminine.

A really good Life of Christ for the young is *The Story of the Gospels*. It was published some years ago, and deserves to be better known. The writer has the true gift of story-

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telling—for instance, the opening chapter gives just the right note, the vivid actuality and the thrill of expectation. In addition to this, every care has been taken to keep to sound scholarship in the chronological arrangement and the presentation of facts. We do not think Mrs. Montgomery's book comes near to this, except in the matter of printing and binding; for it must be admitted that *The Story of the Gospels*, though well illustrated, is hampered by a flimsy and repulsive cover. But *The Story of the Gospels* does not help us much in the case of young children. It is invaluable as a book which the teacher who tells the story in his own words can use; but for reading aloud we should not recommend it for children much younger than ten. The writer will very likely be surprised when we say that it is just the book for Sunday reading to boys and girls between the age of ten and twelve, or even a little older. Certainly their parents, and even many of their clergy, will find in it much that they did not know or had not thought of. It seems to us a quite invaluable book also for missionary purposes. We wonder that someone—say in South Africa—does not try the experiment of translating it.

In teaching the Bible to 'quite old' children there is much to be said for using the words of the original. We know two clever children who were carefully brought up without any religion. One day they startled their parents by bursting into the room and saying, 'Oh! we have found the most lovely book—full of the most ripping stories. It's called the Holy Bible!' They were a boy and a girl of eleven and twelve, and they have since insisted on being baptized and confirmed. The books of the Bible may indeed be left to tell their own story to educated boys and girls of this or a rather later age; but careful selection as well as explanation is needed. Professor Moulton, in his excellent 'Modern Reader's Bible' series, gives us a special *Biblia innocentium* for children—an Old Testament and a Gospel with the Acts; yet he fails to grasp the child-mind, and the result is dull. A short Gospel for boys and girls might be arranged far more attractively, and embellished with plenty of illustrations—but not from the Old Masters, such as those which adorn

Mrs. Montgomery's book, and represent the Last Supper as taking place in a gorgeous Renaissance palace. Nowadays we want the historic fact, as Tissot and Holman Hunt have given it us.

There remains one other way of imparting religious instruction—that of the schoolmaster. We omit purposely the Confirmation class, for the parson who has to teach the Christian religion in a few classes is in the unfortunate position of having to do the impossible. The whole child life is the time of instruction, as the Prayer Book expects; the special classes at the end are the parson's opportunity for touching the heart and showing the personal application of what has been learnt. Indeed, in Dupanloup the classes go to the opposite extreme, and are of the nature of revivalist meetings; but this is far better than our average English idea, which was once illustrated by the late Dean Butler, who wrote of the Confirmation class as the one chance the parish priest had of conveying definite instruction. 'Seize this opportunity,' he said, 'it is the only one you have in the child's life.' Nothing throws a more significant light on the past failure of the Church than this idea, which came, not from an average man, but from a pioneer in the revival of pastoral efficiency.

But the schoolmaster often has to give regular religious instruction, and he always has magnificent opportunities. Often, too, he prepares for Confirmation—whether rightly or wrongly we will not say. For the master or mistress of educated boys and girls of fifth- or sixth-form age there are two books on our list of special value. These are Mr. Cyril Bickersteth's *Letters to a Godson* and Dr. Fry's *Old Testament History for Schools*. We omit Canon Newbolt's *The Church Catechism: The Christian's Manual*, because it is really for the clergy. (It is unfortunate, by the way, that most of the books in this professedly *lay* series are best suited to the clergy; while many in the companion 'Handbooks for the Clergy' series are the very books that the laity want—that of the Dean of Westminster, for instance.) Canon Newbolt's book is really a series of meditations—addresses to the clergy: full as it is of good thoughts, it lacks grip and

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vigour and lucidity. The clergy may well read it and learn much, but it does not teach how to teach. Mr. Bickersteth, on the other hand, might well be read by godsons of fifty, while Dr. Fry condenses with clearness the history of the Old Testament told in the light of modern scholarship. We should not always agree with him, but, on the whole, it is so well done (in the small compass of 191 pages) that we wish there were a special edition with the words 'For Laymen' substituted for the words 'For Schools.' It is possible to write for the intelligent schoolboy (and for his teacher) in a way that will appeal also to the educated layman; and Dr. Fry has done this. It is almost the first attempt to teach boys that which they will not afterwards have to unlearn about the Bible. Not quite the first; for Mr. Bickersteth produced two or three years ago his first series of *Letters to a Godson*, which tried honestly to face the Old Testament difficulties commonly raised.

Now in his second series Mr. Bickersteth has attempted to give a 'reasonable account of Christian Doctrine, with suggestions for further study,' for a boy who is getting near his matriculation. And he has succeeded. Here is a book for schoolmasters, a gift-book, too, for thoughtful boys, a book certainly for parents, and a book that the clergy ought also to use.

One more book must be mentioned in this connexion, and it deserves a paragraph to itself. Prebendary Reynolds has written for Rivingtons' Teachers' Handbooks a *Handbook to the Book of Common Prayer*. It is a storehouse of information—500 pages for 4s. 6d.—drawn up with a scholar's care and justice, and arranged for teaching purposes by an expert hand. The clergyman or schoolmaster who does not often have recourse to it will miss many opportunities.

So much for the methods of teaching. But what are we to teach? This is all-important, and there is a distinct danger of our improving our methods only to teach what is unsound or untrue: the very clearness of the catechist's ideal tempts him to overlook the dangers of a mechanical and obscurantist theology; his desire to be childlike leads him to be childish. He sees the need of definite teaching; he

forgets that the more definite we are the heavier is our responsibility to truth. Miss Longridge, for instance, whose methods are quite admirable, provides matter for her teaching which no thinking person can accept; her Old Testament theology (and there is far too much of the Old Testament in her book) simply will not do. The only result of it will be to make the child an easy prey for Mr. Blatchford when it begins to think. Secularism is spreading, and will continue to spread, and the principal reason is that children are brought up to believe as an integral part of their religion things which they will discard as soon as they mix in adult society. Dr. Knox, who has written a preface to Miss Longridge's *Bible Lessons*, is now Bishop of Manchester, in the midst of Mr. Blatchford's warmest adherents. If he would get a few hundred men together and discuss the Old Testament with them, we fancy he would suggest improvements in a future edition. As it is, we have no hesitation in saying that Mr. Blatchford's crusade owes much of its success to the diocesan syllabuses of the past. Of dogmatism in another direction Mr. Healy's *Definite Church Teaching* is a characteristic example. These little unauthorized catechisms, written by earnest men who are not theologians—one-sided and mediæval in their attempts to expand the Church Catechism—are a real danger. We may, however, draw attention to one of the better kind, written by a man who realizes that, as Mr. Puller says in the preface, 'a catechism is not the controversial programme of a militant faction.' Mr. Hall's *Longer Catechism* is far more accurate, and is really a fair expansion of the Church Catechism; for instance, it begins with salvation and grace, and thus keeps to the admirable order of the original, while Mr. Healy, by thrusting the answer of the Presbyterian Catechism (rather feebly paraphrased) before 'What is your name,' upsets the central idea of the Church Catechism, making religion begin with what we are to do for God instead of what He has done for us; telling men (as Mr. Robinson well says in the *Church Catechism Explained*) 'what they are expected to do for God, and what they may hope to get by doing it.' But Mr. Hall, also, has his narrow side. To set down, for instance,

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spiritualism as one of the works of the Devil will do no good to spiritualists, and is not true, since there have been and are many good spiritualists—Wesley, for example, and Mrs. Browning. A little book which will be useful for giving to inquirers of riper age who desire to learn what the English Church really teaches is Mr. Adderley's *Prayer-Book Teaching* which is a theological treatise made up entirely of quotations from the Prayer Book, with notes and a bibliography. We could wish it were studied by some of our theologically-minded politicians.

Here, then, is ample material for the spiritual pastor and master: Mr. Newland-Smith for a concise but detailed description of the best methods; Miss Longridge] for those who wish to learn how to teach quite small children; and, as a corrective to her Old Testament theology, Mrs. Thomas and Dr. Fry, both admirable, but Dr. Fry more suited to schools and Mrs. Thomas more attractive for the younger ones, down to about twelve years (which is in our opinion quite early enough for children to learn the history of Israel). For the Church Catechism and Prayer Book, Mr. Reynolds; Mr. Robinson in the case of those who teach elder children; Miss Ward for the younger; and *My Catechism Book* for the babes. For the Life of our Lord, Mrs. Montgomery, and something else yet to be written. For books which cover the whole ground (Bible and Prayer Book) for schools, Archdeacon Wilson's series; and for two books that cover it for the older schoolboy and his parent, Mr. Bickersteth. We do not think the parish priest can do his work properly with less than these. When he has studied them, he will get a dozen more. He will want a special shelf for his catechetical books; he will need to prepare the most important work of the week—his appointed work of teaching—with about half a dozen of them always at his side, well thumbed. Thus he will learn gradually, as he catechizes Sunday after Sunday, how to teach; and first he will learn that he has to learn—to learn much before he can teach so that his children can learn. Then his wilderness will blossom.

## ART. V.—THE OXFORD SCHOOL OF HISTORIANS.

1. *The Constitutional History of England.* By WILLIAM STUBBS, D.D., late Bishop of Oxford. Three Volumes. (Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1896.)
  2. *The History of the Norman Conquest.* By E. A. FREEMAN, D.C.L. Six Volumes. (London : Macmillan, 1867–1879.)  
*The Reign of William Rufus.* By the same. Two Volumes. (Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1882.)
  3. *History of the English People.* By J. R. GREEN, M.A. Four Volumes. (London : Macmillan, 1877–1880.)
  4. *History of England from the Fall of Wolsey to the Defeat of the Spanish Armada.* By J. A. FROUDE, D.C.L. Twelve Volumes. (London : Longmans, 1856–1870.)
  5. *Early England, up to the Norman Conquest.* By F. YORK POWELL, M.A. (London : Longmans, 1876.)  
*History of England.* By F. YORK POWELL and T. F. TOUT. New Edition. (London : Longmans, 1900.)
  6. *History of England from the Accession of James I. to the Outbreak of the Civil War.* By S. R. GARDINER, D.C.L. Ten Volumes. Third Edition. (London : Longmans, 1893, 1894.)  
*History of the Great Civil War 1642–1649.* By the same. Four Volumes. (London : Longmans, 1893.)  
*History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate 1649–1656.* By the same. Three Volumes. (London : Longmans, 1894, 1897, 1901.)
  7. *History of the Papacy from the Great Schism to the Sack of Rome.* By MANDELL CREIGHTON, D.D., late Bishop of London. Six Volumes. Second Edition. (London : Longmans, 1897.)
  8. *History of the Church of England from the Abolition of the Roman Jurisdiction.* By R. W. DIXON, M.A. Six Volumes. (London : Routledge, 1878–1902.)
  9. *Bibliographies of the Works of Creighton, Stubbs, Gardiner, and Acton.* By W. A. SHAW, M.A. (London : Royal Historical Society, 1903.)
- And very many other works by the same authors.

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## I.

'Man kann von einer Historie nicht die freie Entfaltung fordern, welche wenigstens die Theorie in einem poetischen Werke sucht. . . . Strenge Darstellung der Thatsache, wie bedingt und unschön sie auch sei, ist ohne Zweifel das oberste Gesetz.

'Alles hängt zusammen; kritisches Studium der ächten Quellen; unparteiische Auffassung; objective Darstellung: das Ziel est die Vergegenwärtigung der vollen Wahrheit.'—L. VON RANKE.

'Dans l'historien il y a le critique qui vérifie les faits, l'érudit qui les recueille, le philosophe qui les explique; mais tous ces personnages restent cachés derrière le poète qui raconte.'—TAINE, *Essai sur Vitellius*.

THE advance made by Oxford men in the department of Modern History since the appointment of William Stubbs as Regius Professor of Modern History in the autumn of 1866 is a remarkable one. At that date Freeman's first volume on the Norman Conquest was about to appear, but Green was still an essayist rather than an historian. Gardiner had published the first two volumes of his English history, but was little known. Stubbs himself, though he had already established a reputation among scholars by his editorial work for the Rolls Series, and by his *Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum*, had done nothing to bring him to the notice of the general public; while Creighton was then a young tutor at Merton College and York Powell was still an undergraduate. Bryce, indeed, by his brilliant essay on the Holy Roman Empire, seemed to be the young man of most promise—a promise which might have been fulfilled if his versatile talents had not been diverted to other spheres. Of living Oxford men, Froude was the only well-known name, and his work was in marked contrast to that of the coming school.

Any man of letters had been considered eligible for the post of Regius Professor, and although the list of those who immediately preceded Stubbs included the distinguished names of Arnold and Goldwin Smith, none of them had done much to advance historical knowledge. Indeed, the best historian among Oxford professors of late had been Dr. Shirley, the Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History, who,

though he confined himself chiefly to the subject of his chair, had done notable work, which had unfortunately just been cut short by his untimely death.

It would not be just to attribute the rapid strides which followed Stubbs' appointment primarily to him, for Freeman and Gardiner had already begun to write. Nevertheless from that date, and more especially after the publication of the first volume of his *Constitutional History*, he was rightly looked upon as the leader of the new departure. The school thus closely identified with his name did not pretend to be a new one, for, after all, its members followed in the steps of men like Gibbon, Macaulay, Hallam, Sir Francis Palgrave, and Kemble. Yet they were united by common characteristics. They rejected Buckle's theory of a scientific history which would treat men as mere automata, and free-will as an idle dream. For as Stubbs said in one of his lectures:

'The great objection to the very idea of reducing history to the lines and rules of exact science lies in the fact that generalisations become obscurer and more useless as they grow wider, and as they grow narrower and more special cease to have any value as generalisations at all. History repeats itself, we know; parallels and cycles recur; the speculative mind can evaluate the curve in which political progress moves. . . . But the dealings of human wills in countless combinations, and circumstances which no theory can ever exhaustively calculate, are not the field for dogmatic assumption or speculative classification. . . . If the human will, which is the motive cause of all historical events, is not the freest agency in the universe, it is at least the freest agency of which we have any knowledge.'<sup>1</sup>

Further, they objected to Seeley's utilitarian view that history is of little value except as a school of statesmanship; that 'history without political science has no fruit, and political science without history has no root,'<sup>2</sup> and that history fades into mere literature when it loses sight of its relation to practical politics. 'History, no doubt,' said Stubbs, 'may be learned as a mental discipline; it may be acquired as a piece

<sup>1</sup> Stubbs' *Lectures on Mediæval Modern History*, pp. 74, 90; see also Freeman, *Methods of Historical Study*, p. 144 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Seeley, *Introduction to Political Science*, p. 4.

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of furniture or apparatus of cultivated life.'<sup>1</sup> But above all, it should be read for its own sake. While not denying that historical writing was an art, or that the historian should aim at presenting a picture, and in some cases a dramatic plot, they insisted on the paramount importance of investigating and establishing the truth.<sup>2</sup> To that end they set the example of careful collection and scrutiny of every available evidence, whether these evidences were to be found in archæology, in earthworks, barrows, dykes, place-names and architecture, or in documents; and, in dealing with the last, distinguished carefully between those parts of a chronicle which were contemporary and those which were copied from others; warned their readers to discriminate between fact and legend, to discount the prejudice of memoirs, and above all insisted on the paramount importance of codes and statutes, hundred and manorial rolls, letters, and despatches.<sup>3</sup>

Their teaching in this direction was facilitated by the remarkable movement which was taking place in the publication and the classification of original sources. Not only were the great foreign publications growing steadily, but in our own country the edition of *Chronicles* and the *Calendar of State Papers* had comparatively lately (1857 and 1862) been commenced under the direction of the Master of the Rolls. The publications of the Historical MSS. Commission followed in 1870, and the *Calendar of Patent Rolls* in 1901, while the Camden, Surtees, and Selden Societies were constantly adding new material for the more complete study of the past.

It was this which emboldened the new Professor

'to anticipate . . . the prospect of being instrumental . . . in the founding of an historical school in England which should join with the other workers of Europe in a common task, and build not on Hallam and Palgrave and Kemble and Froude and Macaulay, but on the abundant collected and arranged materials on which those writers tried to build whilst they were scanty and scattered.'<sup>4</sup>

The three men whose names are always indissolubly connected in this work were Stubbs, Freeman, and Green, and

<sup>1</sup> Stubbs, *op. cit.* p. 73.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 156 *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Freeman, *op. cit.* p. 100.

<sup>4</sup> *Inaugural Lecture*, p. 12.

all these devoted their chief attention to the early history of England. True, Green in his *Short History* surveyed the whole of English history, but his true interest and his main study lay in the earlier periods. Apart from their own predilections, one reason for this choice is no doubt to be found in the incomplete treatment of early English history at the hands of English scholars, despite the work of Palgrave and Kemble, and in the new attention directed to the institutions of the Anglo-Saxons and other Teutonic peoples by the great German school led by Schmidt and Lappenberg, Wartz, Sohm, Brünner, Konrad Maurer, and Pauli. It was their aim to rescue early and mediæval England from the hands of antiquarians and romancers, and to teach us, as had never been done before, the value of the primæval history and institutions of our Teutonic fathers in the future development of our constitution and our nation. In this common work the *Constitutional History* of Stubbs, 1873-1878, deservedly holds the first place.

No doubt in dealing with the Anglo-Saxon institutions his work was not final. Treading as he did on much that must always remain doubtful ground on account of the scantiness of the evidence, and surrounded by conflicting views, his cautious, almost timid temperament often precluded him from authoritative conclusions, and gives to that part of his book a certain obscurity and indefiniteness which is wholly wanting in his later volumes. Nor have his views been uncontroverted. His pronouncement as to the Teutonic and free origin of the village has been hotly disputed by the Romano-Celtic school, which hold that its origin is to be found in the *coloni* of a Roman villa.<sup>1</sup> His views as to the origin of the hundred, the borough, and the frank-pledge have raised a controversy which has not yet been quelled. Yet the notable advance made even by this part of the work will be best appreciated by comparing it with that of previous historians, Kemble and Sir F. Palgrave, not to speak of Hallam.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. especially C. Pearson, *History of England*; Seebohm, *English Village Community*; Fustel de Coulanges, (1) *Institutions de l'Ancienne France*; (2) *Problèmes d'Histoire*.

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It is, however, when we reach the Angevin period that the book rises to its greatest height, and the powers of the writer become more conspicuous. Intimately acquainted as he was with the authorities, an acquaintance which he was daily strengthening by his editorial work for the *Rolls Series*,<sup>1</sup> his step becomes at once firm and sure; and from that moment we feel ourselves in the hand of a master who wins our confidence by the evidence of his exhaustive knowledge, and our assent by the acuteness, yet solidity, of his reasoning.

Some people hold that the work is dull. It is true that it is not suited to the *dilettante* reader. Constitutional history does not lend itself to much pictorial effect; it requires thoughtful reading, and it is a significant fact that the volumes have attracted the most attention in Germany and in France, where serious historical study is more appreciated than in England. If, however, anyone wishes to be convinced of Stubbs' powers of dramatic presentation and of forcible portrait painting, a 'gift which he improved by his insatiable love of novels, expressed in a style unadorned, perhaps, but dignified and at times eloquent, let him turn to some of the prefaces to the *Chronicles* in the *Rolls Series*, or to those chapters in the *History* which deal with the sweep of events, and which were cleverly interspersed between the strictly constitutional chapters—chapters which are all the more valuable because, as Professor Maitland has well said, they serve to remind us that the evolution and the dissolution of institutions 'consist of the acts of human beings, and that acts done by nameable men, by kings, and statesmen, and reformers . . . are the concrete forms in which the invisible forces and tendencies are displayed.'<sup>2</sup>

It will be long before the later part of the book will be superseded, and we have only to regret that the cares of the Episcopate, to which he was raised in 1884, prevented him from giving us, as he had intended, a constitutional history of the Tudor period, a regret which a perusal of some of his Lectures on Mediæval History and his appendices to the Report of the Ecclesiastical Courts Commission will assuredly

<sup>1</sup> Stubbs edited seventeen volumes. The prefaces have been republished by A. Hassall. <sup>2</sup> *English Historical Review*, xvi. p. 422.

justify. But if in the *Constitutional History* and the *Lectures* we are given the results of his labours, in many of his other books we are taught his method. This is the chief value of some of his prefaces to the Rolls Series, of his *Charters and Documents illustrative of English History* (1870-1901), his *Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum* (1858), and his *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, the last edited with the co-operation of W. Haddan (1871-1878). Indeed, we are inclined to think that here lies the most valuable, as well as the most permanent, part of his labours. For it is in the prefaces and notes to these works that we are introduced to the very workshop of the historian; we learn by example the necessity of patient and exhaustive research, of acuteness of perception, and yet of caution in judgment, and of accurate and lucid statement.

Nor, finally, was Stubbs' knowledge confined to England. His prefaces to the *Itinerarium Regis Ricardi* (1865), and to the second volume of Hoveden (1869), show a complete mastery of the European history of the day, while his *Lectures on European History*<sup>1</sup> prove that his knowledge of foreign history up to the Thirty Years' War was profound. Beyond that he never attempted either to write or to teach; partly because his own special line of study lay in the earlier periods, but also because as a teacher he doubted the desirability of exercising

'the minds of young men, old enough to have strong political feelings, not old enough to exert a calm historical judgment, on periods of history teeming with the very same influences as those which are at work at this moment; at least before they had an adequate training.'<sup>2</sup>

## II.

Stubbs' successor in his chair was Edward Freeman, his life-long friend and his predecessor in his fellowship at Trinity. The two men had many points of resemblance. Both loved history for its own sake; both had unflagging industry, and a zeal for accuracy and truthful presentation while in his lectures on the difficulties of historical study

<sup>1</sup> Edited by A. Hassall, 1904.

<sup>2</sup> *Lectures*, p. 30.

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Freeman followed closely in his friend's footsteps.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, both in their views of history and in their work, there are marked divergencies. Freeman's conception of history was a far narrower one. History to him was, as he said, 'past politics and politics present history.'<sup>2</sup> It was the science or knowledge of man in his character as a political being.<sup>3</sup> In any branch of inquiry which touched on history, as he understood it, he was deeply interested. War, diplomacy and government, these were the woof in the weaving of history, while geography, archæology, comparative philology, numismatics, and even architecture would serve as the warp. But for other departments of historical knowledge he had no care. Art, literature, religion, social or economic development were nothing to him. Yet surely history to be intelligible must be based, as Green ever protested, 'on social history in its largest sense, and government and outer facts are but the outcome of individual men, and men what body, mind and spirit make them.'<sup>4</sup>

Then, again, Freeman was never tired of insisting on the Unity of History in a sense which Stubbs had repudiated—namely, 'that there are no new points of departure in human history; that modern life is a continuation of ancient and mediæval history by a continuity and unity that is at all points equally important, of the same consistency in fact.'<sup>5</sup> Moreover, he really contradicts himself by limiting this so-called unity to the Aryan race in Europe. Is it possible, we may well ask, thus to isolate Europe, and if modern Europe has borrowed much from Rome and Greece, was not their civilization also the outcome of the past?

To pass from theory to practice, we miss in Freeman's work the sound common sense, the calm judgment, the cautious step, the ripeness of critical faculty, the sense of proportion, which are the striking characteristics of his predecessor. He is full of furious prejudices, racial, theoretical and personal, and allows them to distort his views. As has

<sup>1</sup> Freeman, *Methods of Historical Study*, Lect. II.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 148.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 116.

<sup>4</sup> Green, *Letters*, February 1876.

<sup>5</sup> Stubbs, *Lectures on Mediæval and Modern History*, p. 84; cf. Freeman, *The Unity of History* (Rede Lecture), 1872.

been well said, he 'sometimes makes history present politics as well as past.'<sup>1</sup> Thus, in his work on the Norman Conquest, his strong English and Teutonic sympathies influence his judgment. Like many of his school, he exaggerates the value of Teutonic institutions. He insists too strongly on the resemblances between the 'Gemeinde' of the peasants of Uri and the English village community, and argues against all probability that the Witenagemot was originally a popular assembly, the mother of our House of Commons.

In dealing with the relations between Scotland and England, he does scant justice to the Scottish side of the question. The same partiality mars some of his personal sketches. Hence his portraits of Alfred, Godwin, and of Harold, the representatives of the England of their day, are overdrawn. Alfred, according to him, is not merely one of the best of our kings, but the most perfect character in history. The cause of Godwin and that of Harold are taken up with the ardour of an advocate; their weaknesses are slurred over, their good deeds are magnified, and the result is a panegyric, not a critical portraiture.

It must, in all fairness, be allowed that Freeman never suppresses any fact which may tell against his views. He is too honest for that. Indeed, he often by anticipation destroys his case by the evidence he brings forward. Blinded, however, by his prejudice, he attempts to weaken this evidence by special pleading, in which he loses all balance of judgment. Taking for proven many conclusions which the data do not justify, and, carried away by his love of definiteness, he will not allow that often, both with regard to facts and persons, it is impossible, from sheer dearth of information, to be positive.

The same want of judgment is seen in the very size of the book. He was never weary of bidding his readers begin at the beginning, yet if all periods of the same length and importance as that of the Norman Conquest were to be treated on the same scale, how far would the ordinary reader reach in his lifetime? Stubbs gives a most exhaustive history of England down to Tudor times in three volumes of some 1,860 pages. The *History of the Norman Conquest*, excluding

<sup>1</sup> Bryce, *Studies in Contemporary Biography*, p. 275.

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the reign of William Rufus, fills five volumes, and more than 3,700 pages.<sup>1</sup>

Its portentous length is partly the result of the author's style, partly of want of discrimination. Freeman seemed 'anxious not only to know everything himself, but that his reader should know it also'; hence the flow of the narrative is destroyed and the reader wearied by much trivial detail, often about unimportant persons or events. The style, too, is marred by constant reiteration of the same idea, after the manner of a pedagogue instructing a class; by an irritating allusiveness, by historical and personal parallels often far-fetched, and by the constant interlarding of words in antique tongues. In the matter of language, Freeman was full of pedantry. The traditional spelling of Anglo-Saxon names is altered, and an attempt made to represent in modern letters characters of that alphabet for which we have no equivalents, and we are bidden to call our forefathers English and not Anglo-Saxon, and to speak of the battle of Senlac and not of Hastings. Had the book been reduced to half its size and the pruning knife rigorously applied to the style, its value would not have been impaired, while it would have been far more widely read.

And yet, with all its faults, the *History of the Norman Conquest* has great merits. It is by far the most comprehensive treatise that exists on the period from the accession of Edward the Confessor to the death of William II., and we have Pauli's testimony that some parts of it surpass anything which has been written on the period. Freeman, with some inconsistency, refused to consult MSS., but fortunately there is little material on the period which has not been published, and of all printed matter he was a thorough master. The book is marked by frankness, straightforwardness, and great vivacity of presentation, and where some prejudice does not stand in the way, the judgment is generally sound. Its appendices are many of them of great value, and if it is not likely ever to be widely read, no student of the period could neglect it with impunity.

<sup>1</sup> *History of the Norman Conquest*, 1867-1876; *The Reign of William Rufus*, 1882.

The criticism of the *History of Sicily*<sup>1</sup> we must leave to other hands. To Freeman the island was attractive as being the meeting-place of all nations, where his favourite theory of the unity of history might be illustrated; but though the work fills four volumes, it does not reach beyond the opening of the fifth century B.C., and certainly errs on the side of excessive length. The truth of the matter is, though Freeman would no doubt have resented the imputation, that his strength lay not in elaborate treatises but in rapid sketches and in essays. No better outline of the Anglo-Saxon period is to be found than that which serves as an introduction to the Norman Conquest, and, in spite of some pedantry, his little sketch of the growth of the English constitution is admirable.

His book on *Historical Geography* (1881) forms a most useful handbook for the historian, and insists on the importance of geography, which is often neglected.<sup>2</sup> His short *History and Conquests of the Saracens* is full of point and vigour. Even his general sketch of European history, although utterly wanting in proportion, forms a very good introduction to the study of modern history. If his book on *Comparative Politics* is in some points mistaken, it is, like the treatise on Federation, both useful and instructive. Finally, his essays on historical subjects and on towns and architecture are full of interest and of suggestiveness. It is, however, a melancholy fact that few of Freeman's works reached a second edition, and that several are now out of print: and this would lead us to the conclusion that his works with all their merits do not attract a very large public.

### III.

Far different is the fortune of the *Short History of the English People*, by J. R. Green. Of this book, with some additions and alterations, seven editions have appeared, and over 235,000 copies have been sold in England alone.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *History of Sicily from the Earliest Times*, 1891-1894.

<sup>2</sup> This work has been admirably re-edited by Professor J. B. Bury (Longmans, 1903).

<sup>3</sup> First edition 1874; expanded into *History of the English People*, 1877.

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Although the author himself was the first to acknowledge that he was but a disciple of Stubbs and Freeman, this brilliant sketch is a work of real genius. And when we remember that it was written in little more than four years, broken by wretched health, and often spent far from libraries, it is indeed an astounding performance. Green had a thorough appreciation of the pictorial side of history. He held that it was not a mere chronological sequence, but had also a dramatic character, and ever protested against the external and political view of human affairs. As we have said, he quarrelled with Freeman's limitation of the scope of history to war, diplomacy and government. He believed that the true history of a nation is often to be found not so much among its kings, its statesmen, and its warriors, as in the social, intellectual, and constitutional movements of the people. As he tells us in his preface :

'If I have said little of the glories of Cressy, it is because I have dwelt much on the wrong and misery which prompted the verse of Longland and the preaching of Ball. But, on the other hand, I have never shrunk from telling the triumphs of peace. I have restored to their place among the achievements of Englishmen the "*Faërie Queene*" and the "*Novum Organum*"; I have set Shakspeare among the heroes of the Elizabethan age, and placed the scientific enquiries of the Royal Society side by side with the victories of the "*New Model*." If some of the conventional figures of military and political history occupy in my pages less space than is usually given them, it is because I have had to find a place for figures little heeded in common history—the figures of the missionary, the poet, the printer, the merchant, and the philosopher.'

Not only was the title of his history purposely adopted to emphasize this view, but with the same object he discarded the usual division of history according to reigns, and grouped it into successive periods—Early England, England under Foreign Kings, the Great Charter, and so forth, each period having a unity of its own. The divisions may be sometimes rather arbitrary and even fanciful, but they have their value as directing the reader to the main point of interest in each successive period, and in giving a sense of development and of evolution, as in the working out of a dramatic plot through

successive acts. He admits himself that the book is unequal, careless, and freakish. But it is full of imagination and of life, and the author shows a firm grasp of the unity of his subject in the true sense of the word.

If the style errs in a 'monotony of the picturesque' and is wanting in the more dignified and sober eloquence of Gibbon, it is full of vivacity and sympathy. These gifts, however, do not entitle a man to the name of a great historian, and Green has been attacked on the grounds that his book is not based on knowledge of original authorities, and that it is inaccurate. The first charge is really a preposterous one. No book of this kind, written under the peculiar circumstances, could everywhere be based on a thorough survey of original authorities. Nevertheless, if we confine ourselves to the early and mediæval period, Green had a competent knowledge of the most important authorities, and has used them with good effect. The charge of inaccuracy is a far more serious one, and one which cannot be altogether rebutted.<sup>1</sup> Some slips were merely clerical; some were to be explained by the absence of authorities to consult at the moment; many did not affect the truth of the picture, and most were corrected in subsequent editions. But when all has been said by his apologists, the fact remains that Green was stronger in the creative faculty, in the gift of keen observation, and the power of discerning hidden meanings under outward facts than in accuracy.

Green was indeed fortunate in not having Freeman as a critic. Had they not been intimate friends, and had not their opinions on most questions coincided, he would, we cannot doubt, have suffered as Froude did at Freeman's hands. His power of dipping below the surface and vitalizing the facts was at once his chief greatness and his danger. It adds to the charm of his book, and yet it cannot be denied that here and there he based some theories on insufficient facts. To do this may be allowable and even useful in an essayist who is often throwing out a suggestion for discussion, but has no proper place in a history which purports to be a record of more settled and matured conclusions.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Quarterly*, April 1876; *Fraser*, September 1875, December 1875.

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Again, Green has been accused of being a partisan. That he approached his subject from a liberal, nay, even from a democratic standpoint, is true. He is apt to exaggerate the power of the people in early times; he over-glorified De Montfort, and certainly over-estimated the power of the Lower House in Lancastrian times. Yet with these and a few other exceptions, neither his theories nor his prejudices seriously warp his judgment on mediæval English history. When, however, we come to the Stuart period, there is more force in this charge, and from that date onwards the book deteriorates. It is not based on such profound research, being largely drawn from Hallam, Macaulay, and other Whig historians, and adopting their somewhat narrow and partial view. Thus Green insists that the Long Parliament sought only to regain those liberties which had been filched from them by the Tudors, and does not recognize, as Gardiner has shown, that the Stuart judges were technically correct in maintaining the strict legality of the discretionary powers of the Crown. He adopts the superficial estimate of the Whigs as to the character of George III., and lays the loss of the American colonies far too exclusively on the king and on the stupidity of the mother country, a view which is now being abandoned by the best American historians themselves.<sup>1</sup> He is persistently unfair to the Tories. In a word, the later part of the *Short History* is not much more than a political pamphlet, in which, like Freeman at his worst, he makes present politics past history.

On Green's later books, *The Making and The Conquest of England* (published in 1882 and 1883), we have not much space to dwell. In them he returns to his real sphere, and works over the ground he had already traversed in greater detail. Nowhere is his gift of constructive imagination better displayed. In *The Making of England* he makes great use of geography and of place-names in reconstructing the history of the Anglo-Saxon conquests and settlements. The result is a marvellous effort of creative genius. Yet even here his

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Goldwin Smith, *The United States*, c. ii.; Ashley, *Surveys, Historic and Economic*, p. 308; Beer, *Commercial Policy of England towards the American Colonies*.

work has been assailed, and Mr. Stevenson<sup>1</sup> holds that he has based his theories on an assumed knowledge of the geography of the country which we do not possess, and on the antiquated philology of Dr. Guest.

The latter charge appears to be true, but Green never professed to be a philologist, and Dr. Guest was the standard authority when he wrote. As to the first, Green himself acknowledged that the attempt to reconstruct history on the evidence of the geography of which we have no contemporary map must be largely guess-work; but after all, the physical features of a country are slow to change, and we venture to suggest that his critic would have modified his opinion if he had written his criticism on the very ground itself instead of at his desk. There remain his *Stray Studies from England and Italy* (1892), and his *Oxford Studies* (1859). In these, though they are somewhat fragmentary, Green shows his great gift of catching the leading features of topography, of expanding his love of archæology into history, and of showing that a town has a being of itself, apart from the churches and castles within it.<sup>2</sup>

#### IV.

It was by a strange irony of fate that the person appointed to succeed Freeman in his chair should be his life-long antagonist, James Anthony Froude. No two men could have been more different. The one was a passionate lover of constitutional government, of popular liberty, and of toleration: the other adopted Carlyle's doctrine of Might, and approved, under certain circumstances, of religious intolerance. Freeman, though not a High Churchman himself, had much sympathy with the movement, and a great admiration for the mediæval Church; Froude came out of the Tractarian controversy with a rooted dislike of all that savoured of 'sacerdotalism.' Freeman was a lover of facts and an advocate for the strictest accuracy in dealing with them; and, although not regardless of style, was ever warning his pupils

<sup>1</sup> *English Historical Review*, October 1902.

<sup>2</sup> Stephen's *Life and Letters of Freeman*, vol. i. p. 303.

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against the danger of being allured by the spell of attractive writing.<sup>1</sup> Froude will always remain one of the greatest of our prose writers, but was seriously inaccurate. For these inaccuracies Freeman had long been attacking him in the *Saturday Review* and elsewhere, and had Froude, there is little doubt, in his mind when in his lecture of 1884 he spoke of 'the evil fortune of mistaking falsehood for truth.' We presume that one motive for the appointment of Froude was that he should be allowed to have his say; and thus perhaps Freeman, by the very violence of his assault, may be said to have helped to decide who should be his successor.

The criticism was savage, at times most exaggerated, and occasionally even wrong, but there can be no doubt that it was in the main correct.<sup>2</sup> As a matter of fact, Froude's inaccuracies were but part of the man and his views on history. For, in the first place, Froude had no belief in the possibility of treating history scientifically. 'History is nature's drama.' The value of history, according to him, was chiefly pictorial and dramatic. To bring the past before us and make the actors live again, that is the true function of

<sup>1</sup> Freeman, *Methods of Historical Study*, p. 100.

<sup>2</sup> The conclusions to which we have come after careful examination are these: 1. That Freeman was not well qualified to review Froude's books on the sixteenth century, since he was not an expert on that period. 2. That Froude's work was largely based on unpublished MSS., often very difficult to decipher, and that Freeman never read MSS. even on his own period. 3. That Freeman grossly exaggerated many of Froude's blunders, made at least two serious mistakes in his own criticisms, and in some really misrepresented what his antagonist had said. 4. That Froude dealt with themes which aroused bitter feeling, and has therefore been subjected to a storm of criticism from many sides. 5. Nevertheless, that both by Freeman and by many other writers it has been shown—(a) That Froude had an imperfect knowledge of other periods of history to which he alluded in his book. (b) That he was often careless in language, especially in his paraphrases of original documents. (c) That he misread or misunderstood some of his authorities. Those who are interested in the subject should read the following: *Saturday Review*, January 30, 1864; February 5, March 19, 1870; September 8, 29, 1877; April 14, 1883. *Quarterly Review*, January 1895; July 1898. *Contemporary Review*, September 1878; May 1879. *Nineteenth Century*, April 1875; April 1889; September 1898. *Bibliotheca Sacra*, vol. xlv. p. 425. *The Westminster Review*, vol. cxxxviii. p. 174.

the historian; and thus it is closely akin to that of the dramatist. Shakespeare, he held, represents real life, though his characters have never lived, and supreme *truth*, although many of his facts never happened; and has in his historical plays written the most perfect English history that exists.<sup>1</sup>

Froude further considered that the address of history is less to the understanding than to the higher emotions:

'We learn in it to sympathize with what is great and good; we learn to hate what is base. In the anomalies of fortune we feel the mystery of our mortal existence; and in the companionship of the illustrious natures who have shaped the fortunes of the world, we escape from the littlenesses which cling to the round of our common life, and our minds are tuned to a higher and nobler key.'<sup>2</sup>

Further, he was sceptical as to the possibility of arriving at the truth:

'It often seems to me [he says<sup>3</sup>] as if history was like a child's box of letters, with which we can spell any word we please. . . . You have but to select such facts as suit you, you have but to leave alone those which do not suit you, and let your theory of history be what it will, you can find no difficulty in providing facts to prove it.'

No doubt Froude himself would correct the dangers of such a method by his other precept as to the mistake of attempting to write history from the standpoint of any theories. The historian, he tells us, should lay the facts before his reader without telling him what he himself thinks about those facts. We should no more ask for a theory of this or that period of history than we should ask for a theory of Macbeth.<sup>4</sup> Froude, however, did not himself carry out this precept. Indeed, in his essay on *The Lives of the Saints*, he confesses that 'we cannot relate facts as they are. They must first pass through ourselves, and we are more or less than mortal if they gather nothing in the transit. The great outlines alone lie around us as imperative and constraining. The details we each fill up variously according to the turn of our sympathies, the extent of our knowledge, or our general theory of things.'<sup>5</sup> This was his method, and when we

<sup>1</sup> *The Science of History, Scientific Method Applied to History, Short Studies*, Series I. and II.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 34.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 1.

<sup>4</sup> *The Science of History.*

<sup>5</sup> *Short Studies*, First Series, p. 209.

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remember his inveterate prejudices and his sceptical views as to the possibility of attaining historical truth, we shall not wonder if he proceeded to deal with history as he said it might be dealt with, and found in it the lessons which he sought. It is not indeed to be expected that historians should be without bias, and we have seen in the case of Freeman and still more in that of Green how their views and their judgments were influenced thereby.

Froude, however, went much further than this. He seems so blinded by his foregone conclusion that he has no eye for any evidence which may contradict it. Freeman gives the evidence against his view, although he tries to weaken it by special pleading. Froude sometimes does not appear to see it. These deficiencies were, in his case, exaggerated by a constitutional tendency to inaccuracy. He substituted loose and often inaccurate paraphrases for textual quotations; he not infrequently misread or mistranslated his original authorities; he seems even to have found it difficult to describe a place correctly. No one for one moment can deny that these are serious faults and that in questions of detail, and often in questions of personal conduct or motive, Froude cannot be implicitly trusted; and yet for all this his merits are great.

A writer may be inaccurate and yet so visualize the past as to give a true general impression after all, just as a painter may represent a phase of nature, although his details can never be entirely correct. Leslie Stephen, indeed, goes further when he says:

'If I want to know something of the Elizabethan period I can nowhere find so vivid and interesting a narrative . . . after all, the main facts are pretty well ascertained. . . . Froude's imagination may invest those facts with a poetical haze. In reading him I do not know certainly where fiction ends and facts begin. The history may be an impressionist picture, coloured and distorted by the mirror in which the facts are reflected. But I take that into account. . . .

'I get such a narrative of the past as I should of the present if I confined myself to party journalism. . . . I must study writers of opposite prejudices. . . . I must take each story not as a definitive truth, but as an aspect of the truth seen from a particular point of

view. I get at least one important fact: if not the real persons, the images projected by them on the imagination of their partisans; and to see for a moment, even as partisans saw, is a help to the understanding the ideals and the prejudices of the time.<sup>1</sup>

But surely one may ask if that is all we get from Froude, would it not be preferable to go to the partisans themselves?

Finally, although this may only make him the more delusive teacher, Froude was a consummate literary artist. His style, as Mr. Frederic Harrison well says, 'is easy without gross commonplace, flowing but not diffuse, vivid without rhetoric, incisive without mannerism. It has none of the artifices of Macaulay nor the grimaces of Carlyle, nor the grittiness of Hallam.'<sup>2</sup>

Such being the character of Froude's work, the value of his books is naturally uneven. His *History of England*<sup>3</sup> is based on a very elaborate study of material which had not then been published. It gives the most vivid picture of the times we have, and, where his ecclesiastical or personal prejudices are not concerned, is not seriously affected by his slips. But his whole view of the Reformation must be looked upon as that of a thoroughgoing Erastian. He made too much of a hero of Henry VIII., and did not appreciate the real greatness of Elizabeth.<sup>4</sup> His *English in Ireland in the Eighteenth Century* (1872-1874) was avowedly published with the object of condemning Gladstone's policy of conciliation towards Ireland by an appeal to past history, and, though a good presentation of a policy, cannot pretend to be impartial.<sup>5</sup> As to his *Short Studies*, Froude himself stated that they contained 'his thoughts cast in various forms on problems

<sup>1</sup> *National Review*, vol. xxxvi. p. 672.

<sup>2</sup> *Nineteenth Century*, No. 44, p. 376.

<sup>3</sup> *History of England from Fall of Wolsey to Death of Elizabeth* (1856-1870).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Pollard, *Henry VIII.*, a work based on the *Calendar of State Papers*, and in our opinion the most truthful portrait of the King we have; and Beesley's *Elizabeth*, which demolishes Froude's unfavourable view of her foreign policy.

<sup>5</sup> For a far more temperate and satisfactory account see Lecky, *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*.

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with which the present generation has been perplexed,<sup>1</sup> and this is not the attitude of mind in which Froude had urged his students to approach past history. Probably the narrative parts of his *History*, those which deal with some great event, such as the defeat of the Armada, or with the social condition of the times, and his lectures on the *English Seamen in the Sixteenth Century* (1895) will be the longest remembered. But none of his writings, though they may be attacked, and even condemned, will 'be put upon the shelf.'<sup>2</sup>

## V.

The contribution which Frederick York Powell, who followed Froude as Regius Professor, made towards the study of Modern History lay rather in his personal influence and in his lectures on the methods of historical study than upon his writings. For the making of books he had apparently little taste. His omnivorous love of reading, the catholicity of his tastes, which ranged from art to anthropology and included literature, numismatics, and the art of boxing, his habit of self-depreciation, and his fastidiousness, all stood in his way. Finally, his popularity, and the high opinion of his knowledge and judgment, placed him on many boards and delegacies, and the labour thereby entailed, more especially as a delegate of the University Press, made heavy calls upon his time. Hence the list of his published writings is a short one, and most of them were written before he became Professor. Powell's earliest love was Scandinavian literature, and his most important work in that field was the *Corpus Poeticum Boreale*, an edition of Icelandic poetry up to the thirteenth century, which he put forth with W. Vigfusson in 1883. A paper on Traces of Old Law in the Eddic Lays followed in 1886 in *The Grimm Centenary and other Papers*. The introduction to Elton's translation of *Saxo Grammaticus*, Books i.-ix., appeared in 1894, and *The Tale of Thronð of Gate*, Englished by F. York Powell for the Northern Library, in 1896. Although the main topics handled in these books

<sup>1</sup> *Short Studies*, Fourth Series, Preface.

<sup>2</sup> *Nineteenth Century*, No. 44, p. 375.

are literary and linguistic, much historical matter is introduced, and a knowledge of their contents is indispensable to a student of early Scandinavian history.

In the domain of history, in the narrower sense, his *School History of England*, up to the death of Henry VIII. (1900), and his *Early England*, up to the Norman Conquest (1876), are the most notable. Though they do not profess to be more than outlines, they are based on a clever use of original authorities. They show the author's wide conception as to the scope of history, and his sympathy with every branch of human activity. They give us a vivid picture of the times, and deepen our regret that they were not expanded into larger volumes. A few other school books, written or edited by him; essays contributed to periodicals which have never been collected in book form, and articles in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, the *Dictionary of National Biography*, and others, complete the somewhat scanty tale.

To estimate aright the stimulus which York Powell gave to the scientific study of history, we must look elsewhere. Before he became Professor he took a leading part in founding *The English Historical Review* (1886). As Professor, he urged the need of a school of advanced historical study in Oxford, on the lines of the French *École des Hautes Études*, and the *École des Chartes*. He took a prominent part in founding lectures for this purpose in London under the auspices of the Royal Historical Society in 1902, and in establishing the Lectureship in Diplomatic in Oxford in 1896. He urged the pressing need of better organization in the collection and registration of documents dealing with local history and of historical bibliography generally.<sup>1</sup>

The domain of history, however, was not, in his opinion confined to archives. 'The historian could not afford to neglect the smallest fact that the archæologist could afford him, . . . and there was a place among students for the traveller and the explorer as well as for the bookman, the reader of vellums, the haunter of archives.' Literature would often help us much, and the poem of 'Beowulf gave us more English history than Asser's *Life of Alfred*.' Economic

<sup>1</sup> *Inaugural Lecture*, cf. *Academy*, May 11, 1895.

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history must also be put under contribution. 'How much history lay in the serried pages of Charles Booth's tremendous *Study of Modern London*.'<sup>1</sup> Nor could the historian neglect the results of the investigation of physiological conditions so far as they underlie and explain human conduct both in the individual and in the mass.<sup>2</sup> In short, 'history is the necessary complement to biology and anthropology.'<sup>3</sup>

York Powell's official lectures and his classes were devoted mainly to the study of sources, and to the canons of criticism to be applied to them. He was ever ready with encouragement and advice to those who cared for research and advanced historical study, and his enthusiasm was irresistible.<sup>4</sup> If, as we believe, the Oxford School of History has a future before it, its success will be largely due to those who fell under the influence of his contagious optimism and sympathetic personality.

## VI.

Meanwhile Samuel Rawson Gardiner was quietly working at his *History of England* from 1603 to 1660 (1863-1901), and winning a foremost position among historians. Gardiner is a rare instance of what may be done by a devoted and industrious man in the domain of historical research, while at the same time actively engaged in teaching. From 1872 until just before his death he was constantly lecturing, either at King's College, London, where he was Professor from 1877 to 1885, or elsewhere. In 1882 he was granted a Civil List pension of 150*l.* a year, but it was not till the year 1884 that Oxford gave him any recognition. In that year he was elected to a research Fellowship at All Souls for eight years, and in 1892 this was followed by one at Merton. In 1894 he was offered the chair of Regius Professor at Oxford, but the offer came too late, and, anxious as he was to finish his work, he declined the invitation.

We have not any lecture of his on the study of history or

<sup>1</sup> *Inaugural Lecture*, cf. *Academy*, May 11, 1895.

<sup>2</sup> *Inaugural Lecture*, cf. *Academy*, May 11, 1895.

<sup>3</sup> Address at Bangor on *The Study of History in Universities*, 1902.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the testimony of one of his pupils. *English Historical Review*, July 1904.

on methods of historical writing, and to learn his views must go to his written statements, more especially to the Prefaces to the various instalments of his *History*, and to his own example. 'History,' then, according to him, 'is the record of change, of the new circumstances into which communities of men are brought, of the new ideas called forth by those circumstances, and by which circumstances are in turn moulded.'<sup>1</sup> Of all changes the moral ones are most important.<sup>2</sup> Such being the nature of the study, it has, apart from its intrinsic worth, an educational value, not only for the ordinary man, but for the politician.

An understanding of existing facts is increased by a knowledge of their causes, and the study of the past should help to produce a statesmanlike temper. The historian can teach the politician

'to regard society as ever evolving new wants and new diseases, and therefore requiring new remedies. He can teach him that true tolerance of mistakes and follies which is perfectly consistent with an ardent love of truth and wisdom. He can teach him to be hopeful of the future, because the evil of the present evolves a demand for a remedy which sooner or later is discovered by the intelligence of mankind, though it may sometimes happen that the whole existing organisation of society is overthrown in the process. He can teach him also not to be too sanguine of the future, because each remedy brings with it fresh evils which have in their turn to be faced.'<sup>3</sup>

With this conception of the character and value of historical study Gardiner set himself to work on that period of our history which will always evoke the strongest feelings of partisanship. He chose this period partly because, as he said himself, a revolution of this sort 'reveals more clearly than smaller changes do the law of human progress,'<sup>4</sup> partly because it had hitherto been approached by writers 'through the medium of their own political struggles,' and because he

<sup>1</sup> *Introduction to English History*, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Prince Charles and the Spanish Marriage*, Preface, p. i.

<sup>3</sup> *History of England, 1603-1642*, edition of 1883, vol. x., Preface, p. ix.

<sup>4</sup> *Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution*, Introduction, p. xiv.

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hoped to 'take a broader view of the deeds of the great men who made this England in which we live.'<sup>1</sup>

This could only be done by one who was not only well equipped for the purpose, but grasped thoroughly the necessity of extreme accuracy in dealing with his authorities, who understood the true principles of criticism, and could completely detach himself from the struggles of to-day. It is just in these essential points that Gardiner excelled. Of his thorough mastery of the whole of English history, his *Introduction* to the first edition of his great work, which was subsequently published separately,<sup>2</sup> and his *Student's History of England* and other works give abundant proof; while his treatment of foreign relations in the book itself shows that he realized, as had never been done before, their importance for a just appreciation of many of the crises of the period.

For this purpose he ransacked the archives of foreign countries. A master of six European languages, he was never satisfied until he had seen the documents themselves, or had copies made of them for his use. The same untiring industry characterized his whole work. He was not satisfied with published materials. He was a greedy reader of manuscripts, wherever they were to be found, whether in Government offices, in public libraries, or in private hands, and when possible always endeavoured to get any important documents published, at once to substantiate his conclusions, and for the use of others.<sup>3</sup> No historian has shown such indefatigable zeal in the collection of authorities, or more generosity in placing his discoveries at the service of the public. In dealing with the material thus laboriously amassed, Gardiner displays a critical faculty, an honesty, and a sound common sense rarely attained.

He carefully distinguishes between those MSS. which he had himself seen, and those already transcribed for others.<sup>4</sup> He warns his readers against the danger of trusting

<sup>1</sup> *History of England*, 1603-1642, edition of 1883, vol. ix., Preface, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Introduction to English History*, by Gardiner and Mullinger.

<sup>3</sup> See for a fuller account *Quarterly Review*, No. 195, p. 547, an article to which the writer is much indebted.

<sup>4</sup> *History*, 1603-1642, edition of 1883, vol. iii., Preface.

to the partisan attacks of poetasters, pamphleteers, and collectors of anecdotes,<sup>1</sup> and of the necessity of determining whether the evidence is that of contemporaries who were in a position to be well informed, although he does not, therefore, pedantically discard all tradition.<sup>2</sup> He insists on the value of letters as representing at least the actual opinion of the writer at the moment, and holds that 'every satisfactory effort to understand the character of a man must be based on his own spoken and written words,'<sup>3</sup> and finally reminds us that a strict adherence to chronology would often help us to decide the truth not only of assertions as to individuals, but of many other knotty matters.<sup>4</sup>

It was not, however, so much in laying down the true canons of historical evidence as in applying them that Gardiner stands pre-eminent among the historians of the Rebellion. And when we remember that he himself, as befitted a descendant of Cromwell and of Ireton, was a Liberal if not a Radical in politics, and that conscientious scruples prevented him in early days from accepting a studentship at Christ Church, and from taking his M.A., his appreciation of the cause of the Royalists and of the Laudian party is startling. According to Gardiner, the Rebellion was the result of two conflicting theories of government—the monarchical and the constitutional—both of which were represented in the English Constitution of the day, and for each of which there was much to be said. The actual conflict was precipitated by faults on both sides. The problems our forefathers had to face were new ones. They faced them in all earnestness of purpose. They did much to solve them, and we have entered into the fruits of their labours.

Although there can be no doubt throughout on which side the author's sympathies lie, he is ever just and ever lenient to those with whom he disagrees. If any exception to his general view is to be taken, it is that he is too orthodox a

<sup>1</sup> *History*, 1603-1642, ed. 1863, p. vii. *The Civil War*, ed. 1883, vol. i., Preface.

<sup>2</sup> *Gunpowder Plot*, Preface.

<sup>3</sup> *History*, 1603-1642, ed. 1883, vol. ix., Preface.

<sup>4</sup> *The Civil War*, 1642-1649, ed. 1883, vol. i., Preface, p. x.

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believer in all the articles of the Liberal creed, and, though recognizing the difficulties, seems to think that if our system of government by majorities, of freedom of speech and of writing, and of perfect toleration had been allowed on both sides, the struggle might have been avoided.

Critics unable to assail him on the grounds of inaccuracy or of partisanship have, of course, attacked his style, his want of proportion, and his deficiencies in the power of selection. In all this there is some truth. If Gardiner fails, it is in the art of presentation, and in the later volumes the narrative is sometimes rather obscured by excess of matter. But his style, though somewhat laboured and stilted in his early volumes, steadily improved and became easy, natural and clear. If he is deficient in the power of historic painting, his accurate knowledge of detail serves the purpose almost as well.

As we read we have the conviction forced upon us that we are dealing with men of flesh and blood and soul, not with creations of the author's brain. We feel that we are spectators of their deeds. We cannot always be certain of their aims or of their motives. We have to allow that the truth as to some events is doubtful, and our author will not help us by dogmatizing; but in all this we are no worse off than those who lived at the time—nay, we often know more than they did. If we will have but the patience to follow our guide through his many pages, we shall rise from our study with the satisfying conviction that we have acquired a far more complete and thorough knowledge of this great epoch than was possible twenty years ago. Indeed, Lord Acton, a severe judge, allows that some of Gardiner's work is so good that we 'never wish that it should be done over again.'<sup>1</sup>

The history was not completed. It ends abruptly in 1656. Fortunately, however, it is to be continued by Mr. Firth, the new Regius Professor, who for some years has been almost a collaborator with Gardiner, and shares many of his views. Meanwhile, those who wish to know Gardiner's judgment on the concluding years of Cromwell's life, can find them in his excellent illustrated *Life of Cromwell* (Ed. Goupil,

<sup>1</sup> Lord Acton on *Study of History*, p. 18.

1899), and in his Ford lecture on 'The Place of Cromwell in History' (1897).

Of Gardiner's other works it is not necessary to say much. They were chiefly school books, and although he was a constant contributor to the *English Historical Review*, of which he was editor from 1891 to 1901, and wrote many of the lives in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, they were almost exclusively confined to the seventeenth century, and are really based upon the knowledge acquired for his great work.

## VII.

Stubbs had said in one of his lectures that it was a reproach to England that no great foreign history had been of late written in our tongue. The reproach was in part removed by Mandell Creighton's *History of the Papacy from the Great Schism to the Sack of Rome* (1882-1894). It was not indeed written at Oxford. The third and fourth volumes were published by him as Dixie Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Cambridge, and the fifth as Bishop of Peterborough, but Creighton was a thorough Oxford man and may fairly be claimed by her. When he wrote, Milman's *Latin Christianity* was the last great English work on the History of the Papacy, and it ended with the pontificate of Nicholas V. The only other authority available for English readers was Ranke's *Popes during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, translated in part by Sarah Austin, a book which, although penned by the father of the scientific school of historians, was no longer up-to-date, and was based too exclusively on despatches and public documents to reveal the inner secrets of the age. It was Creighton's aim to fill up the gap; 'to bring together materials for a judgment of the change which came over Europe in the sixteenth century, to which the name of "The Reformation" is loosely given,'<sup>1</sup> and 'to found a sober view of the time on a sober criticism of its authorities.'<sup>2</sup> For this task the author was in many ways eminently fitted. His wide culture, his love of art and literature, his intimate knowledge of French, German and Italian, and his extraordinary versatility, enabled him to appreciate

<sup>1</sup> *History of the Papacy*, vol. i., Preface.    <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* vol. iii., Preface.

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the many-sidedness of the Renaissance. His acute and critical mind steered him safely through the conflicting authorities in an age teeming with controversy; and though, as he himself acknowledged, the circumstances of his life did not allow him to make much search for new authorities, or to exhaust the material which was available abroad, we have Lord Acton's testimony that it is not easy to detect a wrong quotation or a false inference.<sup>1</sup> His statesmanlike way of looking at things, although he was never a politician, and the catholicity of his views, saved him from narrowness in dealing with a period when the Papacy and the world were dominated by political interests, and from the sweeping and often unjust verdicts of partisan writers; while a true historic instinct, his power of nice discrimination and of condensation, guided him in seizing on the salient points among the tangled mass of events, and in presenting a connected and masterly picture in a style rapid, pointed, and direct.

To these qualities he added others which, if they do not improve the book, at least give to it a peculiar individuality. He had a certain independence and aloofness which, joined to a vein of irony and a half-contemptuous, half-kindly cynicism, prevented him from hero-worship, while his wide sympathy with mankind led him to take a lenient view of the errors of frail humanity. No one to him was altogether good or wholly bad, and his intimate knowledge of such novelists as Balzac and Gaboriau had sharpened his gift of analyzing character and motive. It was natural to a mind of this type to avoid giving judgment both as to things and persons; to tell his tale as truthfully as he could, and, as he once wrote, 'to leave the course of events to pronounce the verdict upon systems and men alike.'<sup>2</sup> As Lord Acton says:

'He is not striving to prove a case or burrowing towards a conclusion, but wishes to pass through scenes of raging controversy and passion with a serene curiosity, a suspended judgment, a divided jury, a pair of white gloves. Avoiding both alternatives of the prophet's mission, he will neither bless nor curse, and seldom invites his readers to execrate or admire.'<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *English Historical Review*, vol. ii. p. 579.    <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* vol. xvi. p. 209.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 573.

Like a skilful physician he diagnoses the disease in a cold critical tone, relieved here and there by a somewhat bitter irony. Hence he rarely rouses our enthusiasm or excites our indignation. Nevertheless, there is no mistaking on which side his sympathies lay. He appreciated Erasmus rather than Luther or Savonarola; he understood the Italian side of the Renaissance better than he did the German, and he was so strongly attracted by the historic antiquity, the great traditions, the splendid organization, the gorgeous ritual and the Catholicity of the Church of the West, that the book is really an apology for the Papacy. Without hiding the delinquencies of the Popes, he is ever making allowances for them. He reminds us that the Papacy was an human institution, called forth in early times by the needs of the day, and forced to accommodate itself to political interests. He shows how the Schism, being largely caused by the political interests of the Great Powers, could only be ended with their consent, and how difficult it was for the rival Popes to abandon their several claims without abandoning the theory of unbroken continuity, on which the pretensions of the Papacy itself were based. He evidently thinks that the Temporal Dominion, though disastrous in its results, was unavoidable. He suggests that the attempt on the part of many of the Popes to lead once more, as they had in the past, the art and literature of the time, and guide the Renaissance spirit, was a genuine one. He says that the close of the fifteenth and the opening of the sixteenth centuries was a period most ignoble in the history of Europe, and pleads that, though it is impossible to forget the high office and the lofty claims of the Papacy, it is scarcely 'fair to isolate the Popes from their surroundings and hold them up to exceptional ignominy.'<sup>1</sup> Finally, he shows how critical and how pathetic was the position of the Popes during the period of the struggle between the powerful Emperor and the King of France, and how closely the very existence of the Papacy was involved in the issues of that contest.

No doubt this apology is sometimes—notably in the case of Alexander Borgia—carried too far, and the work will not be acceptable to violent partisans on either side. The

<sup>1</sup> *The Papacy*, vol. iii., Preface.

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writer approaches his subject from the historical rather than the theological side, and deals more fully with the political than the religious aspects of the Reformation. But it is an original and masterly, if somewhat frigid, survey of the great crisis in the history of the Papacy and of Europe, which no one who wishes to understand the Reformation can afford to neglect; and it is much to be regretted that the overwhelming anxieties of the See of London, to which he was translated in 1896, prevented its being carried up to the Council of Trent, as the Bishop had originally intended.

Creighton's researches in history were mostly, though not exclusively, confined to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. He wrote no other great book on ecclesiastical history, but his views as to the Reformation in England may be gathered from various papers, read chiefly at meetings of the Church Congress.<sup>1</sup> As he himself said, he aimed at dealing with English Church questions without showing clerical or Anglican bias.<sup>2</sup> According to him the movement was, in its inception, so far as the people were concerned, a revolt from the undue influence of the Papacy; and so far as the early English reformers went, a peculiar product of the New Learning. From this position it was hurried during the reign of Edward VI. 'by incapable and selfish men into the stream of Continental Protestantism,' only to be washed back into the violent backwater of Mary's reaction. From this it was saved by Elizabeth, who finally did much to stereotype the character of the future Church. The result of the peculiar fortune of the Church was that the authority of the State was unduly asserted. The Church gained no greater liberty of action, and her rights as a self-governing community in spiritual matters were somewhat neglected.

Besides these brief sketches of the English Reformation, we have a Life of *Simon de Montfort*, the Life of *Wolsey* in the series of 'Twelve English Statesmen,' and the Life

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 'The Abolition of the Roman Jurisdiction,' 'The National Church,' 'The Idea of a National Church,' all reprinted in *The Church and the Nation. The English Church in the Reign of Elizabeth. Historical Lectures*, p. 149. *The Church, Past and Present*, ed. Gwatkin, c. vii.

<sup>2</sup> *Historical Lectures and Addresses*, p. 22.

of *Queen Elizabeth* (illustrated edition, Boussod Valadon, 1896). None of these pretend to be based on very exhaustive research, but they display Creighton's gift of portrait painting, and his skilful handling of secular and political history. Of a different character are his *History of Carlisle* in the 'Historic Towns' series, and his *Story of some English Shires*. These were the outcome of his rambles on foot, his chief relaxation, and were a practical example of the precept he was ever urging upon his pupils, to centre their interest on the localities with which they were acquainted, and to study their past history—a precept which, if followed, would certainly serve to recover much of the history of our country which has been allowed to slip into oblivion.

For the rest, the many-sided interests of Creighton were illustrated in his contributions to the *Dictionary of National Biography*, and by many articles, chiefly on the history and literature of Italy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Italy ever fascinated him, and there most of his holidays were spent. In conclusion, we should remember that Creighton was President of the Church Historical Society, and the first editor of the *English Historical Review*, a review for which Green had often wished, and which may be said to be to-day the chief literary organ of the English school of historians.

### VIII.

Last in our survey of great Oxford historians we may place a writer who devoted himself specially to the History of the Church of England. The *History of the Church of England from the Abolition of the Roman Jurisdiction* is written, as the title<sup>1</sup> implies, from an Anglican or rather from a clerical point of view. The author, Richard Watson Dixon, a parish priest in Cumberland, and from 1874 an Honorary Canon of Carlisle, was in early college days something of an artist and a poet himself, and the friend of Morris and Burne-Jones. He shared with them their love of artistic presentation, and his style has been well called the prose

<sup>1</sup> Vols. i.-iv., to the death of Mary, were published between 1878-1891; the fifth and sixth volumes on the reign of Elizabeth to 1570 appeared in 1902, after Canon Dixon's death.

style of a certain audacity to startle such as for advance and so forth.

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<sup>4</sup> Cf. I.

style of a poet.<sup>1</sup> It is lively and epigrammatic, touched with a certain caustic humour, marred here and there with an audacity of phrasing which seems as if the writer was anxious to startle his readers, and by some infelicitous expressions, such as 'Romaneism' for Papist or Romanist, 'Evangelics' for advanced Protestants, 'parochs,' 'inter religion,' 'evitated,' and so forth.

The history may be considered as a counterblast to that of Froude. Its aim is chiefly to hold a brief for the clergy and to minimize the break in the continuity of the Church of England caused by the Reformation. The author is probably correct in asserting that the corruption of the English Church and of the monasteries at the accession of Henry VIII. has been much exaggerated, and that the revolution, precipitated by the action of the King and some unprincipled advisers, was carried on by bad instruments and attended by great calamities. When, however, he tells us 'that the old system need never have become irreconcilable with the religious development of the age,' and 'that all needful reformation might have been effected if the Church had been left in the hands of the clergy,' we regret, indeed, with him that this did not happen, without being convinced that it was possible. He underrates the revolutionary forces which were at work, not only in England but abroad, and really contradicts himself when he admits 'that it might have been necessary for the King and the Temporality to give the clergy the needful compulsion.'<sup>2</sup> Again, he surely overstates his case when he holds that Henry, in claiming the Supremacy, was claiming nothing new, since the Pope had never claimed it, but only the spiritual jurisdiction, and that it was rather the liberties of the Church than the Papal jurisdiction that the King was anxious to attack.<sup>3</sup> His view as to the Supremacy is no doubt strengthened by the conduct of Sir Thomas More, who appears to have acknowledged it, but declined to take the oath abjuring all foreign jurisdiction, and by Gardiner's distinction between the Supremacy and the Primacy of Rome.<sup>4</sup> But it is not the conclusion arrived at by the

<sup>1</sup> *Dictionary of National Biography*. Art. Dixon.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Introductory pages, 1-7.

<sup>3</sup> Pp. 58-59.

<sup>4</sup> i. 427.

Ecclesiastical Courts Commission<sup>1</sup>: it is difficult to reconcile this theory with the conduct of Convocation, which would only acknowledge the Supremacy 'quantum per Christi legem licet,' and the Act of Mary repealing anti-Papal laws denied the antiquity of the title, Supreme *Head*, at least.<sup>2</sup>

To the second statement the best answer will be found by a careful attention to the chronological sequence of the statutes of the Seven Years' Parliament, and of Henry VIII's negotiations with Rome. We shall thereby be convinced that the anti-Papal statutes were forced through Parliament tentatively, with the hope of prevailing on the Pope to grant the divorce by a gradual *crescendo* of intimidation. If we may believe Chapuys, the ambassador of Charles V., Henry declared himself still open to conviction as late as the spring of 1533, and even as late as December promised Du Bellay, the French Ambassador, that if Clement would declare his marriage with Anne Boleyn valid, he would not complete the extirpation of Papal authority.<sup>3</sup>

In dealing with the reign of Edward VI., Canon Dixon attempts to show that while the Crown and Parliament continued to abuse their authority over the Church by unwarrantable interference with her liberties and property,<sup>4</sup> the liturgical reform which was still left primarily in the hands of the clergy was well done. This anxiety to defend the clergy leads him to a change of attitude towards those who took a prominent part in the preparation of the second Prayer Book of Edward VI., and who suffered persecution in the reign of Mary. Those who, under Henry VIII., had been termed heretics, are now defended as being Churchmen and even Catholic, and, in spite of themselves, are not allowed to be termed Protestant. Canon Dixon here seems to depart from the high Anglican position he had hitherto assumed, and to advocate the inclusion in the Church of those who held

<sup>1</sup> Ecclesiastical Courts Commission, 1883, p. xxxi. <sup>2</sup> Dixon, iv. 289.

<sup>3</sup> *Calendar of State Papers*, vol. vi. No. 1501. Pollard, *Henry VIII.* p. 217.

<sup>4</sup> For a more favourable estimate of the Protector cf. Pollard, *England under Protector Somerset*.

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advanced Lutheran, if not Calvinistic doctrines, doctrines which in fact were subsequently held by Nonconformists.<sup>1</sup>

Of this want of consistency there are other instances. At one moment we are told that the battle in Mary's reign lay between those who wished to maintain the independence which had been declared by Henry VIII.; at another it is pointed out with greater truth that serious questions of doctrine were involved.<sup>2</sup> As we pass to the reign of Elizabeth we cease to hear denunciations against the lay power. The persecutions of Elizabeth are condoned, while those of the early Tudors had been severely condemned,<sup>3</sup> and although the Church government of Elizabeth was not less Erastian than that of her father, it is acquiesced in.

No doubt the explanation of this change of tone is to be found in the fact that at the moment the author was concerned to defend the English Church against the attacks of the Roman writers. Nevertheless the contrast is striking, and one finds it difficult sometimes to realize that the words are those of an author who has nothing but evil to say of the civil power in the early days of the Reformation. If, however, these inconsistencies spoil the unity of his book, they are at least proofs of honesty, and we should not complain if our author learnt, in the course of his researches, to adopt a broader and more equitable view.

The *History* is the most complete account of the Reformation that we have. It is based on a conscientious study of original authorities, so far as the limited opportunities of Canon Dixon allowed. If we cannot always accept his conclusions or follow his reasoning, it cannot be denied that his point of view is an independent one, and often very suggestive. It is surely to be regretted that so earnest and conscientious an historian obtained no recognition from the Crown, and never received such preferment as would have given him more leisure and opportunity for pursuing his researches.

We have chosen for special notice the most remarkable of the Oxford historians who have passed away of late.

<sup>1</sup> Vol. i. 40; iv. 95, 220, 734; v. 99 *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> Vol. iv. 337 *note*; 732-7.

<sup>3</sup> *Cf.* for instance v. 117; v. 182.

Some of them excelled in the critical, some in the imaginative and literary, faculties. No one united all in the highest degree, but all are worthy of a high place on the roll of historians. There are others who, if they do not stand quite in the first rank, certainly deserve mention, and among these we would especially notice C. H. Pearson, the author of the *History of England during the Early and Middle Ages*, which, though somewhat severely criticized by Freeman,<sup>1</sup> is a bright and interesting treatment of the subject; Thorold Rogers, who compiled the valuable *History of Agriculture and Prices in England*, a book which, in spite of extravagances and some doubtful conclusions, is indispensable to the study of English economic history; Brewer, who by his Preface to the *Calendar of State Papers* revolutionized the traditional view of Cardinal Wolsey; and Fyffe, whose *History of Modern Europe from 1715-1848* is the best sketch of the period that we have in English.

To these should be added Dean Hook, whose *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury from Augustine to Juxon* represents the views of a moderate High Churchman; Aubrey Moore, who deals with the more limited period of the Reformation, in far greater detail from the standpoint<sup>2</sup> of a Liberal High Churchman; William Bright, whose most valuable contributions to the study of early ecclesiastical history have already received a separate notice in our pages;<sup>3</sup> and H. O. Wakeham, the author of a brilliant, if slight, survey of the history of the Church of England.

All these have taken a part in adding to our knowledge, in founding a sound historical method, and in widening the range of historical evidence.

This remarkable outburst of historical work is not by any means confined to Oxford, yet no other university can claim so many recent historians among her alumni. Nor do we despair of the future. There exists a vigorous school of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Fortnightly*, ix. 397. Pearson, *A Short Answer to Freeman's Strictures*.

<sup>2</sup> Aubrey Moore, *Lectures and Papers on the Reformation in England, and on the Continent*, 1890.

<sup>3</sup> *C. Q. R.*, April 1901.

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living Oxford men who are following in the footsteps of their predecessors. The new Regius Professor, Mr. Firth, is not only himself in the forefront as an historian, but is eager to establish a school of advanced historical study in Oxford. We warmly approve of his desire, and confidently believe that under his guidance Oxford will retain the position she has now gained, and continue to take a leading part in the boundless field of historical research, which is ever being widened by the discovery or the publication of new materials.<sup>1</sup>

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#### ART. VI.—THE ENGLISH CHURCH IN SYRIA.

1. *Report of the Anglo-Continental Society.* (London : Gilbert and Rivington, 1902.)
2. *Report of Jerusalem and the East Mission Fund.* (London : Spottiswoode and Co., 1902.)
3. *The Church Times.* April 18 and 25, 1902.

IT is some time since we noticed in this Review the affairs of the Jerusalem Bishopric. Like all other new departures, it had in its revival to pass through the ordeal of scrutiny and criticism, and as we look back upon the history of the first years after its reconstitution we still feel that some difficulties inherent in the situation were never faced in the Christian, which is after all the most statesmanlike, way ; and we fear that in the future these difficulties may again become the cause of acute controversy.

We fear it, because among the friends themselves of the reconstituted Bishopric care is not always taken to avoid giving impressions which rightly offend the susceptibilities of those who are jealous for the honour of the English as being part of the Catholic Church. We have always been told that the Jerusalem Bishopric was reconstituted at the express request of the Orthodox Patriarch of Jerusalem, and

<sup>1</sup> For a complete list of the works of Stubbs, Creighton and Gardiner cf. Shaw, *Bibliographies*, edited for the Royal Historical Society. For those of Green, cf. Leslie Stephen's *Letters of J. R. Green*, p. 497.

with the glad assent of the other Orthodox Patriarchs, as well as of the heads of the other Churches represented in Jerusalem. Over and over again we have been told that the Bishop is not there to detach individuals from their own Communion, but to oversee the ministrations of grace to English Churchmen in those districts, and to others who may voluntarily attend our places of worship ; and that his position is entirely different from that of Bishop Cabrera, who has been thrust into Spain in spite of the disapproval of the Spanish Episcopate and with the express intention of detaching Spanish Christians from their natural allegiance. Yet in the *Report of the Anglo-Continental Society* for 1902, the work being done under Bishop Blyth's supervision is treated as if it were on the same footing with that in Bishop Cabrera's hands, and as if the two Bishops had equal claims on the recognition and support of members of that Society and of English Churchmen generally.

Fortunately Bishop Blyth's own conduct is his greatest safeguard from such indiscretions of his friends. In the seventeen years of his Episcopate he has never failed to make it clear that his position in the East is not one of aggression on other Churches. Time after time discontent has arisen between members of the various Eastern Churches in Syria and their own ecclesiastical superiors, and while the malcontents have asked to be admitted into the English Church, Bishop Blyth has refused to entertain their request. He has been willing to allow them the hospitality of our churches, even providing them with services specially suitable to themselves, until the heat of their passions had subsided, and they were willing to return to their own spiritual shepherds ; but he has never allowed them to suppose that it would be any use for them to attempt to coerce their superiors with the threat that if their wishes were not gratified they would join the English Church. It has been insisted that the English clergy are not in Syria for any such purpose as building up a congregation of Syrians who have detached themselves from the Communions in which they were baptized ; and though the lesson may take long to learn, it is perhaps something for a Syrian ecclesiastic to

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have remarked to the English chaplain at Beyrout, 'We are at the beginning of the alphabet.'

It was in the autumn of 1892 that the first most noteworthy illustrations of Bishop Blyth's methods took place. They shall be described as shortly as possible in order to show how lines of procedure were then adopted which have been followed for the last twelve years.

A party of poor Syrians such as made their living as hawkers or pedlars had emigrated to Melbourne, and from there had made frequent appeals to their own authorities for a priest to be sent out to them. Their case was taken up by a few of the (Kilburn) Sisters of the Church resident there, who wrote to Bishop Blyth to see if he could not get their appeal heard. The Bishop therefore interviewed the Patriarch Gerasimos (of Jerusalem) on the subject, and after correspondence with Antioch and much consultation a plan was agreed upon. The Rev. T. E. Dowling, who was Bishop Blyth's resident chaplain, was going out to Australia and New Zealand to arouse interest in the work of the Jerusalem and the East Mission; and by him service books were sent out to these Syrian hawkers, and he was commissioned to minister to them in various ways; he certainly admitted them, after they had been prepared in their own way, to communion at St. Peter's Church, on Sunday, February 26, 1893; and, after he left, the clergy of that church baptized infant children of the Syrians in the English manner on the understanding that when opportunity offered they should receive Chrism. The Syrians gathered regularly in the Sisters' Chapel on Sundays for public worship, which was conducted by one of themselves out of their own books, and on one occasion Bishop Goe himself attended and gave them his blessing in Arabic. Everything was done on the English side to offer these poor exiles the hospitality of the Church without detaching them from their own Communion, and it was only some years after that these proceedings, which at the time received the warmest approval from the Patriarchs of Jerusalem and Antioch, developed into what was known as 'The Melbourne Scandal.' This shall be treated of later on.

Meanwhile at Damascus a disagreement had taken place

between some of the Orthodox and their ecclesiastical superiors, and a body of the Orthodox called on Mr. Segall, the English missionary, and asked to be allowed to join the English Church. Mr. Segall at once communicated with Bishop Blyth, who directed him to allow the aggrieved Syrians to attend the services of our Church as much as they would, but to encourage them to make up their quarrels; and though for some months Mr. Segall had his hands full with ministering to these claimants for his sympathy, the whole body ultimately returned to their full privileges as Orthodox, without ever having received the Sacraments in the English Church. No steps of any kind had been taken to detach them from their own clergy; they simply attended Mattins or Evensong, where they were much impressed with the amount of Bible-reading which took place, and heard the sermons; and when they consulted Mr. Segall about their troubles, they found him invariable on the point that they ought not to make their quarrel a permanent schism, and in the end this advice was taken.<sup>1</sup>

There was never any suggestion on the part of the aggrieved—and this is a point which cannot be too strongly emphasized—of their troubles being caused by searchings of heart on account of impure doctrine or excessive ritual; the quarrel had arisen on grounds which could not in England be called in any way 'spiritual.'

Similar features have presented themselves within the last few years at Beyrout. Ebullitions of passion generated by the most various causes have detached bodies of aggrieved persons from Orthodox, Maronite, or other congregations each in turn has been met by the sympathy of the English chaplain, who has ministered to them in the same way as Mr. Segall ministered at Damascus, and encouraged by

<sup>1</sup> It had been agreed that baptism should be administered in case of necessity by the English priest on the distinct understanding that there was to be no re-baptism, and that if the Chrism were given by the Orthodox clergy the English Church would not require the laying on of hands for Confirmation. And when, subsequent to the troubles, an Orthodox priest did baptize over again a child baptized by the English priest, he was formally censured for his conduct by the Synod at Damascus.

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Bishop Blyth to make up their quarrels; and at the present time the quarrels are all in subsidence.<sup>1</sup>

The most heated, perhaps, was that which took place over the appointment to the vacant Bishopric in 1901 and 1902. The popular candidate was Gerasimos Massera, who, when working as a priest in Beyrout in 1886-7, had defeated an elaborate intrigue for sweeping a large number of Orthodox into the Greek Uniate Church. His success, however, aroused jealousy in quarters where it was not felt advisable for the national feeling to be encouraged, and he was sent away to Alexandria. Here there were considerable difficulties to be faced, but Massera rose to the occasion and greatly increased his reputation. When, however, he was elected to the Bishopric of Beyrout, the Patriarch of Antioch hesitated to confirm the election, but agreed to do so after receiving a petition from heads of families in Beyrout and the Lebanon representing some 50,000 souls. The petition was followed up by the appointment of a sub-Committee of six of the most influential men among the Orthodox notables, which proceeded to Damascus, and after being kindly received by the Governor waited until a quorum of the Episcopal Synod could be formed.

When the Synod was at last held it could give no 'religious' reason against Massera's appointment, but yet took no action, and the Beyrout community therefore appealed to the Patriarch of Constantinople for his counsel and advice, intimating that if their feelings were not considered they would remove their names from the Government registers as Orthodox, and register themselves as members of the English Church. Nor did their expression of feeling end

<sup>1</sup> During the late troubles in the Bulgarian Church which have culminated in a sort of partial schism and separation from the Patriarchal see, Canon Curtis received a letter signed by high ecclesiastical and lay members of the Bulgarian Church, asking him to use his influence with the Archbishop of Canterbury to get them admitted into the Anglican Communion; 'for,' said they, 'you have so many sects in your Church—Presbyterians and Lutherans and Calvinists and many others—that it cannot do you any harm to have one more; so please take the Bulgarians as well.' A. Riley, *Athos, or the Mountain of the Monks*, p. 33 (London, 1887).

with this appeal to the Patriarch. They turned to the English chaplain at Beyrout (the Rev. H. C. Frere) and requested him to receive them into his congregation, but to their surprise and disappointment were told by him that it was impossible.

When, however, it was pointed out to them that were they to act in this way they would put themselves entirely in the wrong and cause a grievous injury to their own Church, they became more reasonable, and were quite ready to discuss ways and means by which they could receive help from the English Church during the crisis without actually separating from their own. The precedent set at Damascus was followed, and for some Sundays the Orthodox attended the services at the English Church-house; as soon as the early celebration of Holy Communion was ended they had their own Morning Service, which lasted about an hour, and would wait after that for the English Mattins and sermon, and for discussion with the chaplain. The room, however, in use for the English services was too small to accommodate all the Orthodox who wished to attend, and one of the notables provided another room in the Greek quarter by giving the English chaplain a house rent free for six months.

Immediate advantage was taken of this, and every Sunday morning, after his Celebration at 7.30, the chaplain drove over to this other centre accompanied by some native students (one of whom acted as reader, the others as choirmen), and after their own service gave them an address and dismissed them with a blessing. In March, 1902, Bishop Blyth arrived at Beyrout, and was greeted by a deputation from the Orthodox, who escorted him ashore, and on arrival at the Church-house gave him a formal welcome in the name of their people. In his reply to their address, the Bishop supported the line taken by the chaplain, and again emphasized it in a sermon which he preached at their service on Sunday. After leaving Beyrout, he went up to Damascus, and, as was perhaps to have been expected, had unsatisfactory interviews with the Patriarch of Antioch, who, however, the day after Bishop Blyth returned to Beyrout held a Synod, at which Massera was accepted. Various delays still took place in

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regard to his consecration, but at last all was settled, and on the second Sunday after Easter the Orthodox made use for the last time of the services of the English chaplain. They expressed their deep gratitude for all he had done for them, and presented him, on May 14, with a most handsomely bound Bible, which was exhibited at the Northampton Church Congress in 1902. The opposition to Massera's appointment which had shown itself in the Patriarch's decision to cut off the Lebanon from the diocese of Beyrout, thereby reducing its population and to a greater degree its revenue, was not encouraged in higher quarters, and great rejoicing was occasioned in Beyrout in the first weeks of 1903 by the news that the Porte had refused to issue a *Berât* for the division of the diocese. Massera, therefore, remains in possession of the full area and revenue of the see, and has been stirring up his diocese to such a sense of their need of a distinct Orthodox college, that within a few weeks of his issuing an appeal, 5,000*l.* was contributed towards the 12,000*l.* required.

The spiritual atmosphere of Beyrout must have been very troubled at this time, for while the Orthodox were quarrelling with their Patriarch, there was a similar disturbance amongst the Maronites. In this case also it was felt by the laity that their ecclesiastical head was wanting in sympathy with their just claims, and it was proposed that about two thousand of them should join the English Church. They were met in the same way as the Orthodox had been, with advice to make up their quarrels, but no services were provided for them, and after a year's excitement their differences were settled, owing to Bishop Blyth's efforts to secure the co-operation of the French and English Consuls-General as mediators.

Last of all came the problem of dealing with the Congregationalists. Of these there were about fifty families, descendants of proselytes made from the Maronites. They had their own pastor and two churches, and were self-supporting, but, as they did not belong to any regular community, were uneasy about their position; and both from ecclesiastical and political authorities in Syria advice was given that they should be received into the English Church.

They had made a study of the Prayer Book, and professed to be in thorough agreement with the Creeds and Articles of Religion, but some of the questions put forward for consideration by the Committee which represented them were of a significant character, *e.g.* 'What would becoming members of the Church mean? Would there be any difference between themselves and other bodies in the Church? Would they be under the C.M.S.?' Great efforts were made by some representatives of Protestant missions in Beyrout to throw light so far as they could on the position of the English Church, and it is interesting to see the advocacy of the C.M.S. and the causes of attachment to it which were circulated in some of the local papers. At the same time, the following paragraph from the *Nashara*, a paper in Arabic edited by the President of the Theological Board of the American Presbyterian Mission, will show how clear the position of Bishop Blyth had been made in this respect at any rate.

'As is clearly known by the reader, the English Episcopal Church in England is divided into two great divisions, viz. Evangelical and Anglican, of which the former maintains the principles of the Reformation and the latter rejects the name Protestant and the totally reformed Evangelicals. . . .

'As to the second, the Anglican, or those of narrow government and narrow rites, has a deep desire to be called Catholic, as is mentioned above. Their representative in the East is Bishop Blyth, in Jerusalem, who of his intense love of the Eastern ritual works unremittingly to bring about unity between his Church and the Orthodox. . . .

'If a person born of Evangelical parents wishes to join the Church of England, he would examine him carefully and require of him to be officially confirmed. But if a Catholic or Orthodox desires to join the Anglicans, he would urge him to return to his Church; whereas if an Orthodox persists in asking, he will accept him without Confirmation, because he reckons the anointing with oil (the Chrism) which is used by the Greeks at baptism as quite sufficient for him, and that it takes the place of confirmation. Hence his only purpose in Syria and Palestine, as some of them told us, is to exhibit to the traditional Churches points of nearness and agreement with them. He also forbids the proselytizing of members of these ancient Churches by the Evangelical Society in Palestine. . . .

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There is much else in the article from which this extract has been made which would be worth quoting, were there space for us to do it; but it is satisfactory to find that Bishop Blyth's position is not only apprehended, but is also being explained in the vernacular with so much correctness, and that in a paper which has considerable circulation amongst the natives of Syria. How far the article in question had any influence upon the 'Native Evangelical Church' or Congregationalists does not appear; but no further steps have been taken on either side for their admission into the English Church.

As we review the whole series of incidents we cannot help once more adverting to the point that it was never from any dissatisfaction with their own ecclesiastical system that either Orthodox, Maronites, or Congregationalists approached the English chaplain. It was to get the assistance of England's political prestige, and to have the power of England to champion or protect them—in their quarrels in the first two cases, and in their isolation in the last—that these various bodies drew near to us. And it is an immense gain that, in spite of the confusion which might so easily have arisen through the personal relations between the English Chaplain and the English Consul at Beyrout, it has been demonstrated that the English Church in Syria is non-political, and that the work it is doing is being done, not by gaining adherents, by any means, from any quarter, but by manifesting a generous spirit of consideration for the interests of other religious communities. It is therefore a matter of sincere congratulation that the chaplaincy at Beyrout has now been put on a permanent footing as an outpost of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. It will be clear that it is meant, as the chaplaincy of the Crimean Memorial Church at Constantinople is meant, primarily for the benefit of English residents and visitors, and not for evangelistic work among the natives of the country, nor for the purpose of building up English political influence through welcoming as adherents to the English Church any natives who may be discontented with their own spiritual pastors. And if gratitude may be described as a sense of favours to come, we should not hesitate

to say that our thanks for what the S.P.G. has done for Beyrout would not wrongly be interpreted as a desire that it should take over for the Jerusalem Bishopric itself all that is now being done for its income by 'party' societies. There is a certain amount of endowment for the see inherited from the voluntary contributions made in England in 'the forties,' and as the appeal made by the Trustees when the see was reconstituted has received as yet practically no response, we could wish that the S.P.G. were able to guarantee a sum equivalent to what is now provided for the supervision of missions to the Mohammedan and Jew.

The existence and prosecution of such missions, within the area of the old Patriarchates, is only possible for the English Church through the limitations laid by their Mohammedan conquerors on the Orthodox. And it is a matter for sincere regret that the Orthodox are not sufficiently at one among themselves to present a united front to facilitate our efforts to help them.

Reference has already been made to an instance of 're-baptism' at Damascus. The 'Melbourne Scandal' showed similar disregard for pledges between the Orthodox and Anglican authorities. The priest sent out from Syria to Melbourne by the successor of Gerasimos did not scruple to disavow all value for the Sacraments administered by English clergy, and baptized over again four children baptized by them; and though he has now been withdrawn from Melbourne, it is not on account of his conduct in insulting the English, but because the Syrians have now been joined by some Cretans, and it is alleged that racial disputes might arise between them if he remained. Another Greek priest has now gone out, but the mischief has been done, and it is to be feared that what will remain in the memory of the Melbourne Syrians is, not the apologies of Patriarchs, but their representatives' conduct. It is because of such incidents as these that we are unable to share the sanguine dreams of those who believe that the use made by the Orthodox of the kindly offices of the English Church in Damascus, Melbourne, and Beyrout, is a step towards the revival of intercommunion.

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courtesy of English to Orthodox Christianity than the special Communion for the Greeks at Salisbury, Mashonaland, on the Greek Easter, our Low Sunday, this year. The celebration was begun by the English priest-in-charge at 11.30 P.M. on the Saturday night; after he had made his own communion, he lighted a taper from the altar, and turning round to the Greeks present, who were about sixty in number, he bade them 'take the light'—the symbol of the Resurrection—which they did, several persons lighting their wax candles from the priest's taper, and then distributing the light till each of them had the candle which he was holding lighted. The English priest then waited in silence at the altar for about half an hour while the Greeks' service, conducted by one of themselves, proceeded. Then about ten of them made their communion, which was administered in the Greek way, by means of a small golden spoon, the Bread having been put into the Chalice, and so the two elements given at once into the mouth, with the words 'The Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ.' After the Greeks had thus received their communion and ended their prayers and hymns, the English priest finished our own Prayer Book service, and then distributed the Antidoron. For several years now communion has been given at Eastertide in this way, as a kind of parenthesis within the English service, to the Greeks at Salisbury, who have no priest of their own, by a friendly agreement between the Bishop of Mashonaland and the Orthodox Patriarchs, and the service undoubtedly exhibits an ideal of courtesy which deserves to be reciprocated by the Orthodox to us. But such a reciprocity will hardly be possible until our official representatives among the Orthodox are themselves able to converse in Arabic, Greek, and French, and therefore saved from misunderstandings which are almost inevitable with an interpreter.

We have some ground for fearing that disappointments, similar to those experienced by the founders of the Church Missionary Society a hundred years or so ago, will be experienced in our time by those who hope for formal recognition by the Orthodox of the English Church, and that the utmost that is likely to be conceded by the Easterns in regard

to our orders and sacraments is that *they are valid for us*. For an English priest to baptize an Orthodox child, or for an Orthodox priest to read the burial service over an Englishman, is a mere exercise of humanity, and does not necessarily involve any subsequent ecclesiastical problems; but when English authorities have inquired if a marriage solemnized by their priests, in case of emergency, between two Orthodox, would be recognized by the authorities of the Orthodox, they have been told that such a marriage would be *uncanonical*, *i.e.* practically null and void. Obviously there is at present no clear way showing itself out of the tangled problems caused by the divisions of Christendom; but the patience and perseverance shown by Bishop Blyth and his own clergy must at least have the effect of preventing further and mitigating present difficulties in Syria and be truly in accordance with the Mind and Will of Him Who is 'the Author of Peace and Lover of Concord.'

## ART. VII.—CHURCH REFORM.

### I. THE INCREASE OF THE EPISCOPATE.

1. *Cathedral Commission Reports*, 1854-5.
2. *Bishop Wilberforce*. By G. W. DANIELL, M.A. (London: Methuen, 1891.)
3. *A Father in Christ*. A sermon preached in St. Paul's Cathedral at the consecration of the Right Reverend Edward King, D.D., Lord Bishop of Lincoln, and of the Right Reverend Edward Henry Bickersteth, D.D., Lord Bishop of Exeter, on the Feast of St. Mark the Evangelist, 1885. By H. P. LIDDON, D.D. Fifth Edition. (London: Longmans, 1892.)
4. *The Increase of the Episcopate in its Pastoral Aspect*. By E. H. FIRTH, M.A. (London: Mowbray, 1904.)

WE propose in a short series of articles to deal with some of the more practical questions of Church Reform. Church

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Reform may mean many different things. It may touch the questions of discipline, of doctrine, of worship, of constitution. All these are matters which may at different times require attention. Our purpose, however, at present is a more modest one. It is to deal with the purely practical questions of administration which demand attention in order that the Church may be made more efficient, from a business point of view, for its work. These include the increase of the Episcopate, the question of glebe lands, parsonage-houses, and dilapidations, a Clerical Pension Fund, and other similar matters. The discussion of these questions ought to be largely uncontroversial, and the solution of them is, simply from the view of practical efficiency, urgently needed. We do not claim to be able to propose an immediate remedy for every difficulty, but something at least may be gained by an effort to bring together the facts which call for consideration and to examine the problems which they suggest.

The late Canon Overton found that his study of the eighteenth century carried him forward out of the darkness into the brighter light which rose above the horizon of the nineteenth century. Hence in the volume which bears the somewhat misleading title, *The English Church in the Nineteenth Century*, he brought his historical survey down to the year 1833. The period was undoubtedly one of change. Reform was in the air. Parliament had received attention in the previous year, the turn of the municipal corporations was to come in 1835, and men's minds were directed to changes in more than one direction which seemed desirable in the Church's system. There was a party whose reforming zeal could hardly be distinguished from a desire for destruction. Their star was so far in the ascendant that the Church Temporalities Act of 1833, by which ten out of the twenty-two bishoprics of the Church of Ireland were swept away, readily received the assent of the reformed Parliament. During the debate which followed Lord Althorp's speech in introducing the Bill upon February 12, 1833, Mr. Goulburn, M.P. for Cambridge University, and afterwards Chancellor of the Exchequer, asked :

'On what principle was it that the noble Lord found that the area of Ireland was insufficient for twenty-two bishops, or that the present number was only required in England? There was not one who would not think that it would be an advantage to divide the area of the bishoprics in England, so that the hierarchy might exercise an effectual and constant control over the people. In the early ages of the Church there had been always a great number of small bishoprics, because it was always found that the duties of the higher clergy were always better performed when they had to superintend only a small space, and that was the more necessary when they were surrounded by people of different persuasions.'

Doubt may be felt as to the existence of the general agreement with Mr. Goulburn's desire for an increase of the episcopate in England, but the reference to the primitive ideal shows the direction in which were turned the thoughts of some who sought only the welfare of the Church. It was the deep sense of the wrongs sustained in the suppression of these Irish bishoprics which was the immediate cause of bringing together James Hurrell Froude, Hugh James Rose, John Keble, John Henry Newman, and William Palmer, and led to the formation in the autumn vacation of the year 1833 of the Association of Friends of the Church.<sup>1</sup> No. 33 of the *Tracts for the Times* gave expression to a feeling which was by no means confined to those directly associated with the writer. Its aim was to set before men the ideal of primitive episcopacy derived from the vast array of facts collected by Bingham in his *Origines Ecclesiasticae*. An extract from the Tract will recall Bingham's conclusions :

'Large dioceses are the characteristics of a Church in its infancy or weakness ; whereas the more firmly Christianity was rooted in a country, and the more vigorous its rulers, the more diligently were its sees multiplied throughout the ecclesiastical territory. Thus, St. Basil, in the fourth century, finding his exarchate defenceless in the neighbourhood of Mount Taurus, created a number of dioceses to meet the emergency. . . . Few persons, who have not expressly examined the subject, are aware of the minuteness of the dioceses into which many parts of Christendom were divided in the first ages. Some churches in Italy were more like our rural deaneries than what

<sup>1</sup> William Palmer (of Worcester College, Oxford), *Narrative of Events connected with the Publication of the Tracts for the Times* (1843), pp. 5 sq.

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we now consider dioceses ; being not above ten or twelve miles in extent, and their sees not above five or six miles from each other.'

Upon the basis of the usage of the primitive Church ideal schemes have been outlined from time to time for a very large increase in our own Episcopate by division of dioceses. A committee of the Lower House of Convocation has declared that they regarded such a scheme 'as inapplicable to our own branch of the Church of Christ, unsuited to the peculiar position of its clergy, and unlikely to meet with the acceptance of its lay members.'<sup>1</sup> Neither the Lower House of Canterbury Convocation nor anybody else has devised an alternative plan, which would place Episcopacy in its rightful position in the Church of England according to the practice of the whole Church of Christ, and remove one, if not *the* most serious, of the hindrances to the advancement of her work. At various times during the past seventy years there have been both clergymen and laymen who have endeavoured to set before their fellow-members of the Church of England an ideal of Episcopacy which should approximate to that prevailing in the primitive Church, and which through all ages has been shown by the guidance of the Holy Spirit to be essential if the Church is to respond to her high vocation. Frequently their efforts have been thwarted by the indifference and even direct antagonism of the episcopal body, and the result of this has been disastrous.

The writer of Tract 33 did not intend 'to insinuate the necessity of any immediate measure of multiplying the English sees or appointing suffragans . . . but to show that the genius of our ecclesiastical system tends towards such an increase, and that the only question to be determined is one of time.' In a postscript he made reference to Lord Henley's pamphlet,<sup>2</sup> which advocated an extensive rearrangement of boundaries of dioceses and the constitution of six new ones, of which the bishops were not to have seats in Parliament, and were to derive their incomes from a redistribution of episcopal revenues.

<sup>1</sup> *Report on the Increase of the Episcopate.* 1889, No. 237.

<sup>2</sup> *A Plan for a new Arrangement and Increase in the Number of Dioceses of England and Wales.* By Robert Henley Eden. 1834.

The subject of Church reform, in which the position of the Episcopate occupied a prominent place, was receiving so much attention that Sir Robert Peel immediately upon the formation of his first Government—the first, too, in which Gladstone held office—recognized that he must take action. With the approval of the Archbishop of Canterbury (Howley) and the Bishop of London (Blomfield) he advised the King to appoint a Royal Commission, which accordingly issued on February 4, 1835. Five out of twelve members were bishops. Within six weeks they drew up their first report. They made liberal use of Lord Henley's plan to remove the disparity which existed in the sizes of the dioceses, but distinctly stated that they were not prepared to recommend any increase in the total number of bishops. While declining to carry out the principal item in Lord Henley's proposals, the Commissioners had the sense to adopt two good features of it for their general shuffle of dioceses. First, they were evidently impressed with the desirability of following as nearly as possible the boundaries of the counties; and, secondly, their 'great object' in arranging the diocese of London was to bring the Metropolis and the suburban parishes under the jurisdiction of the same bishop. Hence for the boundaries of the diocese they adopted those fixed in the previous year to comprise the metropolitan district. Two new dioceses of Manchester and Ripon were to be formed, but the original number maintained by uniting Bangor with St. Asaph and Bristol with Llandaff. Their second report was published a year later. In the meantime strong objection had been made to more than one of their proposals. In the case of the union of Bristol with Llandaff they gave way, and suggested the division of the former between Gloucester and Bath and Wells. As an afterthought the union of Sodor and Man with Carlisle commended itself to them. The proposal raised a storm of opposition. Among the protests was 'A memorial from certain clerical and lay members of the Church of England.' The final of their five objections declared the guiding principle:

'That it has been the uniform wisdom of our Church gradually to increase the number of her bishops, in proportion to the increase

of her population, pressing exigencies may render still it is not actually diminishing, which is a dioceses per advice and s

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Sir Robert King after few months continued the the Commi Bill of 183 missioners Archbishop sult.<sup>1</sup> During of the bishop instead of its first app Ecclesiastic out by Ord Commission various orde Bristol was not retraced by Orders i tion to the stifled, and cence of the missioners original Act of St. Asaph Lords by

of her population and of her inferior clergy; and although other pressing exigencies of the Church, or circumstances of the times, may render it advisable for the present to delay this great benefit, still it is not desirable to go against former practice in this point by actually diminishing the whole number, or to destroy a bishopric which is a sort of memorial of happier days, when the size of the dioceses permitted a more direct and minute extension of the fatherly advice and superintendence of the diocesan.<sup>1</sup>

The first signature to the memorial was that of W. E. Gladstone, M.P., and among others were those of T. T. Carter, Wm. Palmer, Isaac Williams, E. B. Pusey, J. Keble, and J. T. Coleridge.

Sir Robert Peel's Government, formed at the desire of the King after his dismissal of Lord Melbourne, only lasted a few months, and the latter again came into office. He continued the Commission, so that when the recommendations of the Commissioners came before Parliament for sanction in the Bill of 1836 there was practically no opposition. The Commissioners had been quite unanimous. One, at least—the Archbishop of Canterbury—was fully satisfied with the result.<sup>1</sup> During the debates the plea that some of the incomes of the bishops should be given to the poor parochial clergy instead of the endowment of more bishoprics made perhaps its first appearance in Parliament. The Act constituted the Ecclesiastical Commissioners and authorized them to carry out by Order in Council the recommendations of the Royal Commission respecting the rearrangement of dioceses. The various orders were made slowly during a long period of years. Bristol was united with Gloucester—a false step which was not retraced until sixty years later—and Ripon was formed by Orders in Council dated October 7, 1836. Local opposition to the union of Sodor and Man with Carlisle was not to be stifled, and another Act was passed in 1838, with the acquiescence of the bishops, hesitatingly given, to relieve the Commissioners of the obligation to carry out that portion of the original Act. On July 7, 1843, a petition against the union of St. Asaph with Bangor was presented to the House of Lords by Bishop Denison. When the former see became

<sup>1</sup> Hansard's *Debates*, xxxii. 135.

vacant by the death of Dr. Carey in 1846, the Bishop of Bangor (Bethell) refused to undertake the duties of the two dioceses. His action decided the fight which Lord Powys had for years been waging against Archbishop Howley. Honour is due to the layman who, whether from local patriotism or in the interests of the Church is not of material importance, maintained the separate existence of the see against the efforts of the man who should have been its principal defender. Upon the settlement of this difficulty a counter-proposal brought before the House of Commons for the formation of a large number of sees was withdrawn by Mr. Frewen. Nevertheless, its introduction was described by the Rev. W. Palmer as a 'striking sign of the times.'<sup>1</sup>

Lord John Russell came into office, and quickly gave serious consideration to the necessity for an increase of the Episcopate. He addressed a letter to the Primate stating the opinion of the Government that four new bishoprics ought to be formed. 'One of these,' he wrote, 'would be Manchester; another might comprehend Nottinghamshire and part of Yorkshire; a third, by a better division of dioceses, might relieve the Bishops of London and Norwich of some parts of their labours; the fourth would probably comprehend Cornwall.'<sup>2</sup> But before proceeding further he was naturally anxious to have the assistance of the bishops. The Archbishop brought the matter before them at a meeting on the subject, and they agreed that there was *prima facie* ground for proposing the creation of four new bishoprics. With such small encouragement the Premier showed his anxiety to legislate by introducing a Bill which specified the bishopric of Manchester, and gave power to form three other dioceses. He appointed a Commission, upon which the bishops were in a majority, to suggest the districts most suitable to be relieved at some future time by means of this latter provision. But later he was obliged to drop that section. The bishops would give it no support. The Act finally confirmed the separation of

<sup>1</sup> W. Palmer, *A Renewed Inquiry into the Possibility of Obtaining Means for Church Extension, with Special Reference to an Increase of the Episcopate* (1848).

<sup>2</sup> Spencer Walpole, *Life of Lord John Russell* (1889), i. 474.

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St. Asaph and Bangor, and formed only one new diocese, Manchester, of which Dr. James Prince Lee was appointed first bishop. The precedent was first established of giving the bishop a seat in the House of Lords by rotation. More than thirty years were to pass before Lord John Russell's complete proposals received the assent of Church and Parliament, but it has to be remembered that in the first place it was the Church that blocked the way.

An interlude in the activities of Church and State and a series of changes consequent upon the death of both Archbishops afford a convenient opportunity for a survey of the position. For nearly twenty years there had been a strong body of opinion in favour of an increase of the Episcopate. Many of the presbyters and laity had been keen advocates of a step felt to be absolutely necessary for the efficient working of the Church. The State had been ready to do its part immediately in sanctioning any proposals approved by the Church, which, while Convocation was still dumb, was represented officially only by the bishops. During the later years Lord John Russell had made a definite offer. The impartial historian, whatever may be his political predilections, must admit that the step was taken from conviction as to the necessity of the situation. Before the middle of the nineteenth century the Church of England might have quadrupled the increase which was actually made in the Episcopate. The only obstacle, apart from some slight difficulty as to ways and means, was the opposition of the bishops. The conception of the office had undergone a change, and the bishops themselves were beginning to realize the fact. As to the income also necessary to maintain the episcopal dignity there had been a slight modification. The Royal Commission of 1835 seemed to regard 4,500*l.* per annum as the desirable amount, while the income of the first Bishop of Manchester was fixed at 4,200*l.*

## II.

When the Church in the province of Canterbury regained a corporate voice by the revival of Convocation, one of the

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first matters considered was the need for an extension of the Episcopate. Six years had passed since Samuel Wilberforce had been called from the Deanery of Westminster to the oversight of the diocese of Oxford. Men had watched this comparatively young priest placed in a conspicuous position, striving with indomitable energy towards an ideal of episcopacy which was unfamiliar, and to many quite original in its exacting demands upon the occupant of the office of bishop.<sup>1</sup> No doubt he had failings, but his ceaseless activity, his untiring attention to details, his desire to know and be known by all within his diocese, his powers of organization, combined with natural abilities and a deep spirituality, which made itself felt to the great strengthening of souls at such times as ordination and confirmation, united during a quarter of a century to establish an impression of the duties of a bishop which still prevails, though often distorted in some of its main features. In their first address to the Queen, Convocation respectfully drew attention to the fact that, although the population of England had been doubled in the previous half-century, the number of English and Welsh bishops had remained practically the same for three centuries. Before the end of the year—on November 10, 1852—the Cathedral Commission, consisting of four bishops, four priests, and four laymen, was appointed, and, among other things, was required to suggest such measures as would render the cathedral and collegiate churches and their revenues available in aid of the erection of new sees, or of other arrangements in discharge of episcopal duties. These questions were dealt with in the third and final report, presented in 1855, which marks a distinct stage in the efforts towards reform. The Commissioners recognized that in dealing with the subject it was not sufficient simply to consider the number of the population, but that regard must also be paid to the extent of territory, facilities of communication, number of benefices and clergy, and the moral and intellectual condition of the people. Their first recommendation was:

<sup>1</sup> The aim of Canon Daniell's volume is to present the life of Bishop Wilberforce as the 'remodeller of the Episcopate.'

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<sup>1</sup> See *Loma*  
P. B. Morle, p.

'That a permissive Bill should be framed and introduced into Parliament (similar to the Act 31 Hen. VIII. c. 9) empowering your Majesty and your Majesty's successors to divide any diocese, under certain conditions of territory and population; and with the consent of the bishop where it is proposed to effect the division before the avoidance of the see.'

The Act to which reference is made should be distinguished from the Act (26 Hen. VIII. c. 14) for appointing bishops suffragan, of which they would not recommend the revival. A new see was not to be erected until a sufficient income and residence were provided, and for these funds were to be supplied by local contributions and out of episcopal property in the hands of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. They reluctantly gave their sanction as a temporary expedient, when the funds could be found in no other way, to the union of the offices of bishop and dean.

Four places were specified—St. Columb (for Cornwall), Westminster, Gloucester and Bristol (to be again made independent sees), and Southwell—as offering special claims and facilities for the creation of additional bishoprics. It was more than twenty years before the recommendations were carried into effect and the diocese for Cornwall was formed by the creation of the Bishopric of Truro in 1876.

The idea of making Westminster into a separate diocese has never met with any general acceptance. The State has been wiser than the Church in according special treatment to it under the London Government Act of 1899. In fact, the claim of Westminster to the status of a city found support in the consideration that it had been the seat of a bishop.<sup>1</sup> Although we have no great liking for the haphazard methods in vogue for creating suffragan bishoprics, still there is much to be said in favour of the creation of a suffragan bishop upon the usual model in the diocese of London with the city of Westminster under his particular charge. It has a population of 200,000 people, including both rich and poor. In the Chapter of Westminster a bishop has practically no occasion for the exercise of his holy office, and without

<sup>1</sup> See *London Government Act*, 1899, by G. P. Warner Terry and P. B. Morle, p. 150, where references are given to the various authorities.

prejudice to its privileges an opportunity might well be taken to effect this small increase in the Episcopate in the county of London.

The suggested separation of Gloucester and Bristol showed that a short time had sufficed to bring conviction as to the undesirability of the union. Southwell, the fourth diocese mentioned, consisting of the counties of Derby and Nottingham, was formed by the Bishopricks Act of 1878.

The proposals thus dealt only with the places which were in need of immediate relief, though they did not receive it for a considerable length of time. The Commissioners also recorded their opinion that there were others in which it was desirable that new sees should be founded, and drew attention to seven. Local efforts of considerable importance had been made towards the formation of a see of Newcastle, but it was not authorized until twenty-three years later. The Commissioners understood that a local movement might be expected for the creation of a new see at Liverpool, but that had to wait the same length of time. They drew attention to the size of the diocese of St. Davids. Yet nothing has been done, despite strenuous efforts at different periods. The diocese still contains five whole counties and a portion of a sixth. The population at the census of 1851 was 211,760. At the last census the total was 509,943. The Commissioners suggested a see at Coventry for the relief of Worcester, but that has been abandoned in favour of a see of Birmingham, which, after the lapse of half a century, will soon be an accomplished fact. Another recommendation, by which Suffolk was to form a diocese, with St. Mary's, Ipswich, as the cathedral, still remains for adoption. They had received a memorial in its favour, and this has had innumerable successors. The population, it is true, has increased by more than 60,000, but in these days the episcopal supervision of such a number is regarded as a mere bagatelle. That the diocese of Norwich contains 900 parishes is a fact which distresses few people. The recommendation that Rochester should be relieved by the formation of St. Albans was carried out in the Act of 1875. Finally, the Commissioners proposed that Bath should be taken from the dioceses of Bath

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and Wells and Salisbury on account of their large acreage. The object was attained to some extent by the re-formation of Bristol diocese, but the Commissioners in 1855 did not intend that the diocese should consist of more than the city and suburbs, with a population of about 220,000.

Foreign affairs claimed the attention of the Government and the country, so that nothing was done to carry out the recommendations. The inquiry of another Commission, which sat in 1857, was confined to the state of religion in the dioceses of Canterbury, Winchester, London, and Rochester. Bishop Wilberforce presented a petition from 217 clergy to the Upper House of Convocation on February 12, 1858, in support of a 'permissive' Bill, but they took no action. Two years later Lord Lyttelton began in Parliament his long series of efforts for an increase of the Episcopate. On the second reading of the Division of Dioceses Bill in 1861, he claimed that it merely gave expression to a large body of public opinion. A weighty memorial from laymen had been presented to the Prime Minister, and the Primate had received a petition from more than 6,000 clergymen. The Bill proposed to follow the recommendations of the Commission, and give authority to a central body—the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, because there was no one else at all suitable—to constitute new dioceses, but without any limitations upon their powers by way of conditions as to population, size of territory or number of benefices. On account of this omission even Bishop Wilberforce would have preferred that Lord Lyttelton should withdraw the Bill and bring in amended proposals, but on a division the second reading was carried by four votes as an expression in favour of an increase in the Episcopate.<sup>1</sup> The Bill was rendered useless in committee, and returned with so few

<sup>1</sup> The Bishop of Carlisle (Waldegrave), who was the only bishop to vote against it, although the others, according to the Bishop of London, had assented 'with great qualms of conscience,' explained later that he was not averse to the *extension* of the Episcopate by the division of such unwieldy dioceses as Durham, Exeter, and London, but he objected to the *multiplication* of them in the manner which had been suggested by Dr. Wordsworth, then Canon of Westminster, in his letter to Viscount Duncannon, which gave a great stimulus to this effort.

friends that at the next stage it was thrown out by a majority of fifty-seven. Nevertheless, the subject was very much alive at the time. It was one of the first discussed by the York Convocation, which sat for business in that year, and was also dealt with by the Church Congress at the end of 1861. A committee of the Lower House of Canterbury Convocation sitting in the same year, with Dr. Wordsworth as chairman, produced a useful report. They recommended the revival of suffragan bishops, and urged that a petition should be presented to the Crown for a 'permissive' Bill containing conditions as to the territory and population necessary for the new dioceses. The endowment was fixed by the Lower House at 1,500*l.* per annum. The committee also approved a proposal, which had received the sanction of York Convocation, for the formation of a society for the extension of the home Episcopate, upon the same lines as that which had done good work for the Church in the Colonies. The Upper House, on the motion of Bishop Wilberforce, resolved that this report, together with an important lay memorial, should be referred to a committee consisting of the bishops of both provinces, together with any Irish bishops who were ready to give their counsel, but there seems to be no record that it was ever called together or did anything.

The next occasion upon which the subject came before Convocation was upon a motion that an address should be presented to the Crown asking for the formation of a diocese of Cornwall; but the Government declined to deal with one area 'apart from the consideration of the general question of a readjustment of the boundaries of dioceses and an increase in the Episcopate.'<sup>1</sup> The result was to enlarge the scope of the various efforts which were being made at the time. It would be tedious to record in detail the numerous petitions and addresses presented to Convocation, the Crown and Parliament during the next few years, and culminating in Lord Lyttelton's second Bill, introduced in 1867, to form dioceses of Cornwall, Southwell, and St. Albans. When the Bill reached the Commons they insisted on an amendment which deprived the new bishops of a seat in the House of

<sup>1</sup> *Chronicle of Convocation*, April 19, 1863, p. 1449.

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Lords, and another, which might have had the effect of giving them salaries considerably lower than those of their brethren. Rather than agree to these proposals, the bishops preferred not to have any increase in their number, and once more the efforts of years effected no tangible result. In this difficulty it was natural to look round for some other means of relief, not only for bishops who had unwieldy dioceses but also for those incapacitated by old age or infirmity. The latter was effected by the Bishops' Resignation Act of 1869. Use has been made of this statute, but not with that readiness which in some cases has been felt to be desirable in the interests of the diocese. There would be more willingness on the part of bishops, perhaps, to avail themselves of its provisions if it were recognized that resignation need not of necessity entail complete retirement from active life. The mind is as strong in many cases at seventy as it is at forty-five, and often far better furnished, so that there is some justification for thinking that the weighty counsel which the wisdom of years can give is worth more than the increased activity arising from the possession of greater physical strength. If, however, on attaining the age of seventy as a maximum the bishop relinquished the duties of his diocese to a younger coadjutor, he might be of great assistance in conveying to the new hands the threads of the work and advising in difficulties. At the same time, several of these aged bishops, relieved from the burden of a diocese might form a consultative committee, for which Archbishops of Canterbury have expressed a desire, to aid in formulating decisions upon great questions of policy concerning the Anglican Church in all parts of the world. At the present time there are at least eleven bishops qualified to form an advisory committee of this character, and they furnish a thoroughly representative list of names.

The Upper House of Canterbury Convocation, reversing a previous decision, would not take any steps to revive the office of suffragan bishop in order to meet the former need. The Bishop of Lichfield (Selwyn) foresaw that 'it would stand in the way of an efficient plan' for an increase of the Episcopate, and his anticipation has been fully

justified by the result. But Dr. Wordsworth, not long after his elevation to the Episcopate, took the step which he had so often advocated and asked for the appointment of a suffragan. Dr. Mackenzie was consecrated Bishop of Nottingham on the Feast of the Purification, 1870. In its genesis, therefore, the revival of the office was a makeshift which was never intended to supersede the necessity of providing new independent sees. It is necessary to emphasize this, although we gladly admit that, very often under trying circumstances, the suffragan bishop has done excellent work. Nevertheless, his position is an entirely subordinate one. 'He has no jurisdiction, and therefore no graver responsibilities beyond those which attach to his pastoral office. No questions of discipline come for him to decide; no difficult problems come for him to solve.' His part is 'to uphold the hands of the diocesan, on whom of necessity must fall the burden and heat of the day.'<sup>1</sup>

In 1871 began Lord Lyttelton's third effort. The bishops, Convocations, and the rural deaneries throughout the country were all approached in turn. On a report of the Upper House of Convocation, Lord Lyttelton and the Society for the Increase of the Episcopate, of which he was chairman, asked Mr. (now Sir) Walter Phillimore to draft a Bill which should empower the Ecclesiastical Commissioners to make schemes containing all the necessary particulars for the formation of dioceses. Having been submitted to the Queen in Council the scheme would then lie upon the table of the House of Parliament, for objection or criticism to be made in the same way as with other schemes of a similar character. Owing to the dissolution in 1874, Lord Lyttelton did not introduce the Bill until 1875. It passed happily through the Lords until its final stage, when Lord Lyttelton reproached the Government with their supposed lack of support, and by his speech complicated the difficulties of its supporters in the House of Commons. Still, it made considerable progress, but the 'blocking' tactics of its opponents finally succeeded in defeating the measure. It was the last effort with which

<sup>1</sup> Sermon by the Bishop of Newcastle at the consecration of his successor as Bishop of Thetford. *Guardian*, July 1, 1903.

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the name of the noble promoter was to be associated. His health gave way and he died early in the following year. The session of 1875 was not entirely barren of legislation, as the Government passed an Act to authorize the creation of the see of St. Albans.

Before the meeting of Parliament in the next session several Church societies combined with the Home Episcopate Society in holding a conference in the rooms of the National Society. It was evident that there was a strong body of opinion in favour of the Bill. The Archbishop of Canterbury (Tait), who presided, maintained the traditional attitude and threw cold water upon it.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, Mr. Beresford Hope gained a good place for the Bill in the Commons, but Mr. Cross, on behalf of the Government, whose members had previously voted in its favour, expressed their view that 'any measure for the increase of the Episcopate ought to be brought forward by the responsible Ministers of the Crown.' He objected to the mode of procedure embodied in the Bill, and stated that the Government were making inquiries as to the places in which it was desirable to create new sees, with a view to introducing a measure for that purpose. Accordingly, Mr. Beresford Hope withdrew his Bill, and after an attempt in 1877 Lord Cross' Bishoprics Act of 1878 was passed for the formation of Liverpool, Newcastle, Southwell, and Wakefield, constituted respectively in 1880, 1882, 1884, and 1888. A time limit attached to a benefaction by Lady Rolle for the endowment of a see of Truro had accelerated the constitution of Cornwall into a separate bishopric, for which an Act had been passed in the session of 1876.

On the Feast of St. James, 1879, William Walsham How was consecrated Bishop of Bedford. Although nominally a suffragan, he had practically a separate diocese with independent jurisdiction. Bishop Jackson gave him sole charge of East London, even to the extent of surrendering the patronage within the district, and merely attaching his signature to the appointments made by Bishop Walsham

<sup>1</sup> For a detailed account of the proceedings at this period, reference may be made to the *Church Quarterly Review*, October 1876.

How. A modified arrangement exists at the present time, but to all intents and purposes the Bishop of London is an Archbishop. Strange as it may seem to some people, there is no other arrangement which harmonizes with the needs of the Metropolis of the British Empire. The present occasion is by no means inopportune to advance a step further in that direction. Parochialism, or, worse still, congregationalism, is rampant. The investigations of Mr. Charles Booth and the enumeration of Church attendance have increased the anxiety of the individual about his own particular piece of work to the exclusion of thoughts of others. There is need for a wider, bolder, nobler conception. The work of the parish will be the first to gain by an extended outlook upon the position of the Church in London. The present occupant of the see of London possesses qualities which specially fit him to put this matter before the people, and if he called them to carry through a sound scheme there need be no fear about the result. By a combination of happy circumstances, Dr. Talbot, as first Bishop of Southwark, would furnish just those elements of sober thought and knowledge of that huge area comprised under the designation 'South London,' of which the Archbishop would stand in need. On the north side of the river, besides the Archbishop of London directly concerned with the City, there would be the Bishops of Islington, Stepney, and Kensington, each with his allotted district according to the present arrangement, together with the Bishop of Westminster.<sup>1</sup> As a practical measure we do not advocate any large increase in the Episcopate here, but would simply give to South London a number in the same proportion as London north of the river. Bishop Talbot with his seat at Southwark would have the larger portion of the population, owing to the dignity and importance of his cathedral church and position on the south side of the Thames. His jurisdiction would cover the boroughs of Lambeth, Southwark, Camberwell, and Bermondsey, with a population of rather more than 900,000. A bishop taking his title either from Greenwich or Lewisham, and having supervision of the boroughs of Deptford, Greenwich,

<sup>1</sup> *Supra*, p. 147.

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Lewisham, and Woolwich, would also be required. A further subdivision would soon become urgent. In no part of the Metropolis, probably, is Church life so strong as in Lewisham, and there is keen local patriotism, so that the area might be relied upon to raise the endowment for the income of its own bishop. The population of the four boroughs numbered at the census 450,000, and is growing at a rapid rate. For the immediate present, Battersea and Wandsworth might have to remain attached to Southwark, but a Bishop of Wandsworth would be required to place South London on a level with the remainder, and the title might be used by the suffragan of the new Bishop of Southwark. The possibility of the division of the huge borough of Wandsworth and the desirability of following the civil divisions are reasons why delay would not be altogether unacceptable. The portion of Surrey attached to London in the Bishoprics of Southwark and Birmingham Act would, we candidly admit, be in an anomalous position. That feature of the scheme should be the finishing touch to make it acceptable in the eyes of Englishmen.

In order to bring the historical sketch of the efforts for an increase of the Episcopate down to the present time, it is necessary to return to the Act of 1878. For some years Churchmen were engaged in carrying out its provisions. No further proposals for an extension were made until the establishment of the Canterbury House of Laymen, when the subject was one of the first to which they gave their attention. The committee to whom it was referred recommended the formation of eight new bishoprics—Southwark (or Guildford), Brecon, Shrewsbury, Birmingham, Derby, Leicester, Bury St. Edmunds, and Chelmsford. For their dioceses they recognized that as far as possible county boundaries should be adopted as the basis. 'The inhabitants of a county have already, to a certain extent—and may, in the future, have to a still greater extent—a common life; they are on many occasions accustomed to act together, and they have common interests.' By the Local Government Act of 1888, which was before Parliament at the time of their report, counties received that form of municipal government which had pertained

previously only to English boroughs. By the Local Government Act of 1894 further powers were granted to the County Councils, and additions of even greater importance to the national welfare were made by the Education Act of 1902. These measures have brought strong support to the view of the committee 'that it is wise and in accordance with the best traditions of the Church to build up her own life on such already prepared foundations.'<sup>1</sup>

With the object of carrying out their recommendations, the House of Laymen drafted a new 'permissive' Bill on the lines of previous measures to give the necessary authority to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. The Upper and Lower House of Convocation approved the Bill, but no progress was made with it. Desultory efforts have been made from time to time for the relief of the dioceses of Norwich, Rochester, St. Davids, and Worcester. At last two of them have now been placed in a somewhat better position by the Southwark and Birmingham Bishoprics Act. So far as Birmingham is concerned, we may look for its formation at an early date, but there is need that churchmen should give their money readily that Southwark may not be kept waiting for lack of the necessary endowment.

### III.

It has seemed desirable to trace in some detail the various efforts made during two-thirds of last century towards an increase of the Episcopate. It is no uncommon thing for the advocates of some measure of reform to minimize, perhaps quite unintentionally, the work of their predecessors. We would not risk a fall into this error, if for no other reason than the desire to do full honour to the memory of the men who nobly strove to strengthen the work of the Church in an important direction. By studying the history of their efforts an appreciation may be gained of the

<sup>1</sup> *Report No. III.* It will be remembered that this principle had been advocated by Prof. Freeman. It has been recognized by the Bishop of London in making the boundaries of the rural deaneries coincide with those of the metropolitan boroughs, and is applicable to county boroughs.

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extent of the difficulties to be contended against, and from a regard to their failures it may be possible to avoid pitfalls. The necessity for dealing with this subject separately may have removed it to some extent from the setting in which it would be placed by a wider survey of the history of the Church of England during the past seventy years. That is not wholly a disadvantage, for while we have seen a remarkable growth in all departments of Church life, there can be no doubt that Episcopacy has far from retained even its relative position. At the same time, we fully recognize that a bishop in 1904 is a very different person from the bishop whom our grandfathers knew in 1834. From a high dignity of State, with prescribed and not very exacting duties, he has become the head of a vast organization almost equal to that of a great Government department, concerned with the spiritual welfare of hundreds of thousands and even millions. In general esteem he is still the 'Lord Bishop' of a diocese first, and secondly, though so far behind sometimes as to be lost sight of altogether, the Reverend Father in God. Two or three times in the year he snatches a few days, broken by a number of other calls, to spend with those whom he is about to ordain to the sacred ministry of the Church. He sends them forth to their work, and they may not see him again for more than a passing nod or a shake of the hand for years. The Lord Bishop moves in an entirely different plane from the rank and file of his clergy. When necessity demands they can obtain an interview, but knowing the extreme pressure of his life hesitate to make the request. Besides, it is not an easy matter to speak quite freely and openly to anyone, even though he be one's bishop, who is practically a stranger. It is of importance to note that the men who feel most strongly in this matter are not those who make themselves heard on public platforms or write to the Press, nor are they adequately represented in Convocation. They bear and struggle on, but the work suffers for lack of fatherly support.

A confirmation may bring the bishop into the parish. Perhaps he has taken one or even two already on the day, attended one or more meetings, and dealt with a mass of correspondence, so that the kindest thing to do is to let him

have a few minutes' rest before being called upon to undertake the trying service. Probably only half the congregation could tell to what diocese they belong and the name of the bishop. The candidates come up two, three, or even four at a time. We are gradually approaching the time when a whole row of candidates were 'done' at one operation,<sup>1</sup> although this is a department of Church work which benefits more than any other from the assistance of a suffragan. At the same time, if statistics can be relied upon, they illustrate in a remarkable manner the fact that no system of suffragans can ever be a substitute for the division of dioceses. A comparison has been made between the diocese of Chester, from which Liverpool was taken in 1880, and the dioceses of Rochester and Worcester, which remained undivided, and were not dissimilar in character. At the census of 1881 the population of the dioceses of Chester and Liverpool was 1,731,665, of Rochester 1,594,402, and of Worcester 1,124,688. The diocese of Rochester thus had a population of 137,000 less than the divided area of Chester and Liverpool, yet it increased with such speed that at the census of 1901 it had not only neutralized the difference, but passed it by 87,000, so that Rochester then numbered 2,255,084, Chester and Liverpool 2,168,439, and Worcester 1,398,258. By taking figures from the *Official Year Book* for the first five years after division, and comparing them with the last five years which are available, it is claimed

'That a comparison is being made between a time when the advantage of the division is being felt to its fullest extent, and a period when the first enthusiasm has passed, and the new diocese, together with that from which it was severed, has settled down to the normal existence under ordinary circumstances.'<sup>2</sup>

During the later period there was a suffragan at work in Rochester as well as in Worcester diocese. It should also be

<sup>1</sup> On February 11, 1873, the Bishop of Lincoln (Wordsworth) said in the Upper House of Convocation: 'In some places as many as 500 or 600 young persons are presented for confirmation at one time, and the rite is administered by railfuls. I feel very much for the persons who are obliged to do this.'

<sup>2</sup> *Church Times*, April 15, 1904.

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recalled that during the years 1881 to 1885 the Bishop of Worcester was a man over seventy years of age. Yet the numbers of those confirmed are as follows :

	1881-1885	1899-1903
Chester } . . .	52,217	69,343
Liverpool } . . .		
Rochester . . .	51,435	57,043
Worcester . . .	34,221	45,532

The proportional increase in the dioceses of Chester and Liverpool was nearly 33 per cent., while in that of Rochester it was less than 11 per cent., in spite of the tremendous difference in the increase of population.

The relationship of the bishop to the laity is indefinable, since for the great majority it is practically non-existent. On the part of the layman ignorance in many cases generates an attitude of constant criticism. The Wilberforce ideal has impressed itself upon the public mind, so that the bishop is expected to live a life of unceasing activity. There is not a bishop on the Bench who would not be justified in saying with Bishop Claughton : ' You have introduced such a system into the Episcopate that one has time for nothing.'<sup>1</sup> The bishop of to-day has no time to think, no time to read,<sup>2</sup> and, worst of all, the world so crowds in upon him that he has no time for prayer. Bishop Creighton with his clear vision saw the dangers in this life of hurry, and the harm that it works to the Church.

' We tend to cut short interviews [he said], to use an almost abrupt manner, to wrap ourselves in our dignity merely as a matter of duty to other things for which our attention is needed. We cannot be too patient or too anxious to let our real patience be seen and felt. . . . Anything that bears the marks of hurry and perturbation is worthless. No man should ever leave our presence with the sense that we have not done our best to understand him.'<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Life of Samuel Wilberforce*, by Reginald Wilberforce, iii. 375.

<sup>2</sup> The Bishop of Oxford said at his primary visitation (quoted by Mr. Firth) that for three whole months he had not read through one book.

<sup>3</sup> Address at the Bishops' Devotional Meeting in 1894. *Mind of St. Peter and other Sermons*, p. 31.

Many of the bishops would do well to consider whether the Church would not ultimately gain if they definitely refused engagements, for the reason and on the specific ground that to attempt them would vitiate the value of their work. They need to act upon the advice which Archbishop Benson once gave to the present Archbishop of Canterbury, to 'recognize your limitations,' and 'to lay out your work according to those limitations.'<sup>1</sup>

In connexion with the personal life of the bishop may be mentioned the amount of his income. It is a subject about which there is a good deal of wild talk. To any man with a sound conception of his place in this world the possession of monetary wealth is a solemn responsibility. For a bishop it is so in a double degree. Our bishops more or less do regard their incomes as a trust to be administered for the good of the Church. But has the Church the right to impose this additional burden upon them? We venture to think that this aspect of a much-discussed question does not receive the attention that is due to it.

The claim for an increase of the Episcopate by the division of dioceses not only finds strong support in the practice of the primitive Church, the history of our own branch of the Catholic Church, and the present position of Episcopacy in this country, but also as making a valuable contribution towards the solution of some of the special difficulties under which we labour at the present time. The dearth of candidates for Holy Orders is rightly regarded as one of the most serious causes for anxiety, in view of the extent to which a lack of pastors touches life at every point, just as, by the same reasoning, the weakness of Episcopacy is a matter of primary concern. How the latter affects the former is shown by the figures compiled on the same basis as those quoted of confirmees<sup>2</sup>:

	1882-1886	1899-1903
Chester } . . . . .	234	191
Liverpool } . . . . .		
Rochester . . . . .	233	169
Worcester . . . . .	228	137

<sup>1</sup> *The Life of Edward White Benson*, by A. C. Benson, ii. 572.

<sup>2</sup> *Church Times*, April 15, 1904.

Another lack of the Church is the lack of a quinquennial contribution to matters of the Church. The number of the clergy as being of the Church fatherly ecclesiastical there is mention of the revival is a personal exercising for ridicule which some of the difficulties.

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<sup>1</sup> *Chronicle*.

<sup>2</sup> A remark afforded by E. H. Firth division of other objects.

Another matter of serious import at the present time is the lack of discipline. While satisfactory ecclesiastical courts and a quickening of the living voice of the Church might contribute something, there is 'an essential condition of matters of discipline going right' (to quote the words of the Bishop of Oxford), and that is 'a very large increase of the number of bishops.'<sup>1</sup> Spiritual discipline is too often regarded as being exercised under the same conditions as the authority of the civil magistrate, whereas much more can be done by fatherly admonition than by the coercive jurisdiction of an ecclesiastical court, even if its constitution be ideal. Again, there is the common fallacy, when lack of discipline is mentioned, that it is only the clergy who are to benefit from the revival of this wholesome exercise. At present the bishop is a person so remote from the laity that the idea of his exercising any control over them is little more than a matter for ridicule. If we have that increase of lay ministrations for which some are seeking, then it will be possible to appreciate the difficulty of exercising control over the laity.

A little consideration will soon reveal that there are other important problems towards the solution of which an increase of the Episcopate would afford a valuable contribution.

Before any practical measures can have a reasonable prospect of being carried to good effect, there is needed a widespread and profound dissatisfaction with the existing state of affairs. Although a certain number of keen men advocated the Bishopricks Bill, which has now received the Royal assent, there was no real enthusiasm for it among a large portion of the laity. If that had existed, Mr. Balfour would never have ventured to defer it from last year.<sup>2</sup>

A joint committee of the Convocations of Canterbury and York—the northern province contains one of the dioceses which is in most urgent need of division—is required to give

<sup>1</sup> *Chronicle of Convocation*, May 14, 1903, p. 130.

<sup>2</sup> A remarkable illustration of the general apathy which prevails is afforded by the reception accorded to the offer of 1,000*l.* by the Rev. E. H. Firth, Rector of Stoughton, as the nucleus of a fund for the division of the diocese of Winchester. It is impossible to conceive any other object of Church work for which such a sum could go begging.

a definite lead. Their report would almost certainly declare first the absolute necessity for an increase of the Episcopate, and that no addition to the number of suffragans can ever meet the requirements of the Church of England. No doubt recognition would be accorded by the committee to the principle that division of dioceses must proceed according to county boundaries. They would not look to find a bishop at once side by side with the lieutenant in nearly all the counties of England, but that would be recognized as the ideal. The report of the joint committee would bring the subject to the front through the ordinary channels, while by the bishops it would be laid before representative bodies such as diocesan and ruri-decanal conferences. Those who were most prompt in drafting and obtaining cordial support for a definite scheme should be the first to receive the approval of Convocation in their effort. Attention has been drawn to dioceses with long outstanding claims, but at present we seek not to put forward a practical scheme for the extension of the Episcopate, but to establish and obtain general recognition of the need. Exception has been made in favour of London, since nothing is so likely to arouse the country as to find that the Metropolis is taking this matter up with enthusiasm and energy. Parliament's share does not at once claim consideration, as the end of a Parliament is an unfavourable time for the subject to be brought forward, but the interval may well afford opportunity for Churchmen to collect their ideas and put them into shape.

Convocation, having made a clear pronouncement and reaffirmed the principle that the division of dioceses should be carried out by one central body, might be expected to express an opinion as to the amount desirable for the income of a bishop, though this point must be adjusted to the varying requirements of the districts, and would form an item in their respective schemes. The Lower House of Canterbury Convocation, as we have seen, fixed the amount at 1,500*l.* The Bishops of Southwark and Birmingham, with dioceses involving many claims, are to have 3,000*l.*, and a house considered equal to 500*l.* a year. The average would probably fall between the two, with a tendency towards the lower figure.

There will be need for a wide and general co-operation if

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this subject is not merely to be sat upon by a committee, be debated in one or two sessions, and then be heard of no more. The clergy can make a valuable contribution by clear and definite admonition from the pulpit upon Episcopacy and the office of a bishop.

'It is difficult to say [we quote Dr. Liddon] how much is lost to the moral force of the Church and to the character of her ministers when a bishop is thought and spoken of as a good man of business, or a man who might have been a judge, or a very accurate scholar, or even a well-read divine, if besides and beyond all these he is not recognized as the father of his flock, both lay and clerical; the one man to whom men instinctively turn for advice and counsel in moments of moral or mental perplexity; the man on whose wide knowledge and kindly temper and simple disinterestedness of purpose they know that they can depend for trustworthy guidance; and of whom they think habitually as one whose blessing would be dearly prized as a message of encouragement from another world in the dark hours when its shadows are already falling thick across the path of life.'

By careful teaching and plain speaking the clergy may do much to bring home to Churchmen the weakness of the Church in this direction. Staunch support may be looked for from those who claim to uphold the teaching of the Oxford movement. The leaders in those days were not slow to criticize the bishops, and they had more cause to do so than can be found now; but at the same time they struggled to effect improvement in the position of Episcopacy. We still hear the criticism, but there seems to be lacking that sense of proportion which caused the critics, from their anxiety for the advancement of the work of the Church, to make constructive efforts towards reform. In 1833, too, the movement numbered among its warmest advocates Henry Goulburn, M.P. for Cambridge University, Thomas Arnold, and John Henry Newman. It is that agreement among men differing widely upon other matters which is even more needed now to support this endeavour.

Another source to which we may reasonably turn for co-operation is the Church Committee for Church Defence and Church Instruction. In some quarters there have been

ominous forebodings that Church defence is a subject which will need shortly to claim a large share of attention. It is quite certain that the surest form of Church defence is that the Church should be found to be faithfully and earnestly striving to do her work for the salvation of souls to the utmost of her power. Weakness in an important essential provides an obvious point of attack. In any case, instruction upon the position of Episcopacy at various periods in the history of the Church is a subject which should occupy a prominent place among the activities of that committee's representatives. The Church Reform League also would do well to give more attention to this matter.

As an immediate outcome of an increased interest in this subject, it may be hoped that the formation of the dioceses of Southwark and Birmingham will at once be carried into effect. In any further steps the question of finance is bound to take a prominent place, and Churchmen must be prepared to put their hands into their pockets liberally for this object, and by doing so they assist a number of others at the same time. Although we have carefully avoided laying any stress upon the benefits to be derived financially from an increase of the Episcopate, there is no doubt that for the efficient maintenance of the manifold branches of the Church's work it would be of invaluable assistance. The Additional Home Bishopricks Endowment Committee would do well to put itself more in evidence. At present neither the object nor even the name of the committee is to be found in the *Official Year Book of the Church of England*.

With a real endeavour there is no reason why there should not be aroused the keen enthusiasm which was felt in 1860 and the following years. The noble efforts of Bishop Wordsworth and those associated with him were based upon prayer, and if we are to set about this one with steadfast earnestness, there must be no doubt about the foundation upon which we rest for strength to do this thing aright. We believe Episcopacy to be of Divine origin, and we pray God so to guide and direct our minds and hearts that we may labour in the right path with zeal to remove the encumbrances which now hinder the shepherding of the flock of Christ.

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To the clergy and laity now labouring against forces which seem sometimes as if they must overwhelm them in our great towns, how much the presence of their Father in God from time to time would do to strengthen and help forward their work, by bringing to them the assurance that they are part of a large army which is steadily advancing under the guidance of a heavenly Commander. It is the Father in God and none other who from that wider outlook can raise and stimulate the drooping hearts with words of encouragement and hope, and the sympathy of which his presence is something more than a sign. Or to the priest and people in some lonely hamlet, cut off from the outside world, it is the Father in God who can come and can turn their minds to other members of the family to whom also they have responsibilities. He can lead them from their narrow sphere, and by so doing move them to do their part more faithfully in that corner of the vineyard. But wherever he goes it is the Father in God who can comfort, console, strengthen, and inspire the individual soul, and can raise, uplift, and carry forward the work of the parishes by bringing to them the sober judgment, patient sympathy, and loving care that the chief Pastor of the diocese should have for each and all his people. That we may be guided to make these things possible should be the prayer of every loyal Churchman.

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## ART. VIII.—LIVERPOOL CATHEDRAL AND DIOCESE.

1. (a) *Liverpool Cathedral Act*, 1885. (b) *Liverpool Cathedral Act*, 1902. (c) *Liverpool and Wigan Churches Act*, 1904.
2. (a) *Liverpool Cathedral, a statement of the arguments in favour of the adopted site, St. James's Mount*, January, 1902; (b) *Liverpool Cathedral: the Story of the Past; the Need of the Present; the Dream of the Future*, January, 1904; (c) *Idem*, Foundation Stone Edition, July, 1904; (d) Reports and Papers issued on behalf of the Cathedral Committee, 1901-1904.
3. (a) *Liverpool Cathedral: a Description*. By GILES GILBERT SCOTT, F.R.I.B.A., Architect of the Cathedral. From the *Liverpool Daily Post Cathedral Souvenir*. (b) *Liverpool Courier Cathedral Number*. (c) *Articles in the Builder, Architectural Review, &c.*
4. *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'Architecture Française du xi<sup>e</sup> au xvi<sup>e</sup> siècle*, par Viollet-Le-Duc. Vol. i. *Architecture religieuse*; vol. ii. *Cathédrale*. (Paris, 1876, 1874.)
5. *History of Architecture*; 3rd edition. Vols. i. and ii. *Ancient and Mediæval*. By JAMES FERGUSSON. (London: Murray, 1893.)
6. (a) *Report of the Bishop of Liverpool's Commission*, 1901-1902. (b) *Report of the Liverpool Committee, appointed in 1903 to carry out the recommendations of the Commission*. From the *Liverpool Courier*, July 23, 1904. (c) *Liverpool Diocesan Calendar*, 1881-1904.

SEVERAL causes combine to draw attention to the City and Diocese of Liverpool at this time. In particular, the visit of the King and Queen in July last to lay the foundation-stone of the new Cathedral, and the approaching Church Congress, to be held in Liverpool once more after an interval of a quarter of a century, will be in the minds of everyone. The present is, therefore, an opportune moment at which to attempt a review of the special problems with which Church-

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men in south-west Lancashire are faced, and of the efforts which are being made for their solution.

The building of the Cathedral has the first claim on our consideration. In a previous article (October 1901) we congratulated the Diocese 'upon the possession of a splendid opportunity,' and our readers everywhere will now rejoice with their Liverpool fellow-Churchmen over the magnificent beginning which has been made in the accomplishment of a stupendous task. At that time the first steps had been taken by large subscriptions and the selection of St. James's Mount, with all its advantages and its difficulties, as the site. The promoters of the scheme had, however, to pay the penalty of their well-meant attempt to settle the question without public discussion. An agitation was started on behalf of the Monument Place site, and a good deal of opposition, mainly anonymous, was aroused. In spite of this, an enabling Act was readily obtained in the following session of Parliament, and in August 1902 an agreement was concluded with the Corporation to buy the selected site.

In the meantime intimation had been given of an open public competition among architects, the assessors being Mr. G. F. Bodley, R.A., and Mr. Norman Shaw, R.A. This preliminary competition closed on June 30, 1902, and on August 8 the assessors issued their award, recommending for admission to the final test five names, Messrs. Austin and Paley being the best known for their actual achievements. One of the five was Mr. Giles Gilbert Scott, grandson of Sir George Gilbert Scott, a Roman Catholic by religion, and, like P. H. Elmes the architect of St. George's Hall (as many hold, the finest modern classical building in Europe), under twenty-three years of age. In accepting all five as eligible, it may be shrewdly surmised that not one of the promoters anticipated that the design sent in by the youngest and least experienced architect would be the one to find acceptance. And, if rumour may be trusted, the candidate himself needed urging to induce him to take his chances seriously. When, therefore, the final award was issued, and Mr. Scott's design was placed first, the executive committee, hardly knowing what to do, rejected all the designs,

on the ground that one of their fundamental requirements—that 3,000 people should be accommodated within sight of the pulpit—had not been complied with by the selected competitor. On all sides protests were made: the exceptional merits of the design were urged, and it was pointed out that by a different process of computation the condition was fulfilled. The whole matter was reconsidered, and in May 1903 it was agreed to appoint Mr. Bodley and Mr. Scott as joint architects, the competition design being adopted subject to certain modifications. After twelve months spent in the working out and subsequent consideration of the plans, in preparing the foundations, and in collecting further funds, the foundation-stone was auspiciously laid, on July 23 last, by the King. The ceremony had been most carefully organized and thought out beforehand, and the unaffected solemnity of the religious service was worthy of the occasion. The presence of the Lord Mayor and Corporation of Liverpool, of the mayors of other diocesan boroughs, and of representative Nonconformist ministers, was a happy augury of the part which it is hoped the completed Cathedral will play in unifying the religious life of the diocese.

The design, on the adequacy of which such great issues depend, is a bold and striking one; and, in view of the magnitude of the undertaking—the proposal being to erect a cathedral on a more heroic scale than any yet attempted in this country—we shall enter rather minutely into the architectural features of the scheme. In describing the design we are fortunate in being able to follow an explanatory sketch contributed by the architect himself to a local journal.<sup>1</sup> Although no actual limitation as to style was imposed, it was felt that, while it was useless to think of evolving an entirely new style, the character and associations of Gothic marked it out as the one to be employed, provided that the conditions as to site and accommodation could be satisfied. Accordingly, the design adopts as its components the main elements of English Pointed architecture at the climax of its

<sup>1</sup> *Liverpool Daily Post*, 'Cathedral Souvenir.'

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development in the early fourteenth century, before builders had yielded to the convenience of the four-centred arch, under pressure from the designers of the vaulting and the stainers of the glass. The aim has been to produce solemnity of impression, dignity, and grandeur. 'The house which is to be builded for the Lord must be exceeding magnifical.' Mere size and mass contribute powerfully to these ends. The building must, therefore, be of vast dimensions. It is a characteristic of all the larger English cathedrals to be of great length. Five of them are over 300 feet.<sup>1</sup> Liverpool will be 584 feet in length, if the northern entrance and Morning Chapel be included. Yet length is not wastefully introduced for display, for the main mass of the nave and choir will be only about as long as the great French cathedrals, similarly reckoned. These last, again, depend for their effect largely upon their great height.<sup>2</sup> Liverpool will not seek, in extravagance of emulation, to surpass all other Gothic buildings in the loftiness of its vault, but it will be much higher than any other English cathedral,<sup>3</sup> being 116 feet in the ordinary bays of the nave and choir and 140 feet in the high transepts. Further, if due proportion be observed, an increase of breadth in the nave and choir will bring added majesty. Liverpool will be the only stone-vaulted cathedral north of the Alps in which the space between the centres of the piers will reach the great width of 53 feet 6 inches, York Minster, where the dimensions are precisely the same,<sup>4</sup> having only a wooden roof. The example of the Italian cathedrals supports the view, urged by Professor Simpson,<sup>5</sup> that it would be easy to add 5 or 10 feet to the width, and so enable a

<sup>1</sup> St. Albans, 550 feet; Winchester, 525; Canterbury, 518; Ely, 517; Westminster Abbey, 505 feet; cf. Fergusson, *History of Architecture*, ii. 417.

<sup>2</sup> Beauvais (unfinished), 153 or 157 feet; Amiens, 140; Rheims, 124 feet. Cf. Cologne, 155; Bologna, 147; Milan, 145; Florence, 137 feet.

<sup>3</sup> York choir and Westminster are 102 feet; no other English cathedral exceeds 100 feet in height.

<sup>4</sup> According to the very fine plan in the *Builder* Cathedral series, confirmed by another published architect's plan. Beauvais is just over and Cologne just under 50 feet, similarly measured; but Florence, Milan, and Bologna are all about 64 feet.

<sup>5</sup> *Architectural Review*, vol. xiii. p. 226.

considerable addition to be made to the accommodation. No doubt the executive committee will thoroughly discuss this possible modification with the architects before building is begun.

Once more, a lofty building needs some crowning feature in due proportion to its height. York Minster has its central tower, 65 feet square and 216 feet high, yet hardly high enough to carry off the effect of the elevated roof. Liverpool will have its twin towers, each as broad as the tower at York and 46 feet higher, being, indeed, only 10 feet lower than the tower of Rheims, which is the loftiest of the kind in Europe.

It is already clear that the proposed structure is laid out upon a grand scale. We hope to show that by a happy combination of old methods with new and fruitful ideas the peculiar conditions of the site have been turned to the best account, and at the same time the special requirements of a modern cathedral in a great city have been successfully met. In our previous article we pointed out that the usual mediæval planning was open to criticism on three important points: the long chancel, the screen, and the contracted space at the junction of the nave and transepts. The first two of these of course hang together. As Mr. George Gilbert Scott, the father of the young architect of Liverpool Cathedral, pointed out in his interesting 'Essay on the History of English Gothic Architecture,' the lengthening of the chancels followed the fashion set by the twelfth-century restoration at Canterbury. It was prompted by the need for separate provision for the choir offices, sung by the secular or regular clergy according to the nature of the foundation. The area thus used was next made into a distinct enclosure, separated from the chancel aisles by walls or panelling at the back of the stalls, and terminated westward by a solid screen. In many instances, again, sometimes probably because the eastern arm was occupied by chapels, the enclosed ritual<sup>1</sup> choir was allowed to protrude into the central space, as at Winchester, or even

<sup>1</sup> The term is of course used to distinguish the arbitrarily enclosed choir from the structural choir, the true eastern arm measured from the central transept.

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to encroach upon the bays of the nave, as at Norwich and at Westminster. At Liverpool, to obviate any necessity for this, a spacious and beautiful Morning, or Lady, Chapel is to be placed at the south (*quasi* east<sup>1</sup>) end, continuing the western side aisle, but on a lower level, so that entrance from the Cathedral will lead into a gallery running all round the Chapel and communicating by a stairway with the main floor. A two-storied porch will provide direct entrance to the Chapel from the outside. The chancel or structural choir will in this case be identical with the ritual choir, and will be three bays in length. The *quasi* east end will be square, and a straight ambulatory behind the reredos will connect the aisles with one another, and the Morning Chapel with the Chapter House, which is to be a similar prolongation of the opposite or eastern side aisle. The choir will be several steps higher than the nave, a light screen no doubt marking the division immediately south of the crossing. The altar-table will, therefore, be well seen from all parts of the Cathedral utilized for seating, and at solemn ceremonial rites that conscious unity of impression will be ensured for the whole body of worshippers which is impossible in many cathedrals for any but a few.

We now come to the requirement that provision should be made for an arrangement of the central space allowing to a congregation of 3,000 persons an unobstructed view of the preacher. In our previous article we noticed arguments by Mr. (now Sir William) Emerson, in 1885, following Fergusson, in favour of a Gothic dome at the crossing of nave and transept. The latter, after praising the internal beauty of the octagon at Ely, expresses his wonder that, after such a form of construction had once been suggested, 'any cathedral was ever afterwards erected without it.' Several of the competitors in both competitions adopted some such form of dome or octagon. Mr. Scott, however, has not been

<sup>1</sup> Everyone regrets that the orientation of the cathedral is practically impossible. Mr. G. G. Scott in his 'Essay' already cited adduced evidence to show that the custom was not primitive; but he gives no instance of the altar being placed at the *south* end. The advantages of the site were, however, held to outweigh this difficulty.

persuaded. He declares that 'when carried out upon a large scale [it] is not entirely satisfactory in a Gothic building, and presents almost insurmountable difficulties if we wish to make it a severe and majestic feature, both inside and out.' A central tower is inadmissible because of the space blocked by the huge piers needed to carry it. The alternative adopted is to carry out in a thoroughgoing fashion the principle employed in a half-hearted manner at Exeter,<sup>1</sup> and to constitute the great transept out of three members, a pair of massive towers like gigantic sentinels and an intervening space,

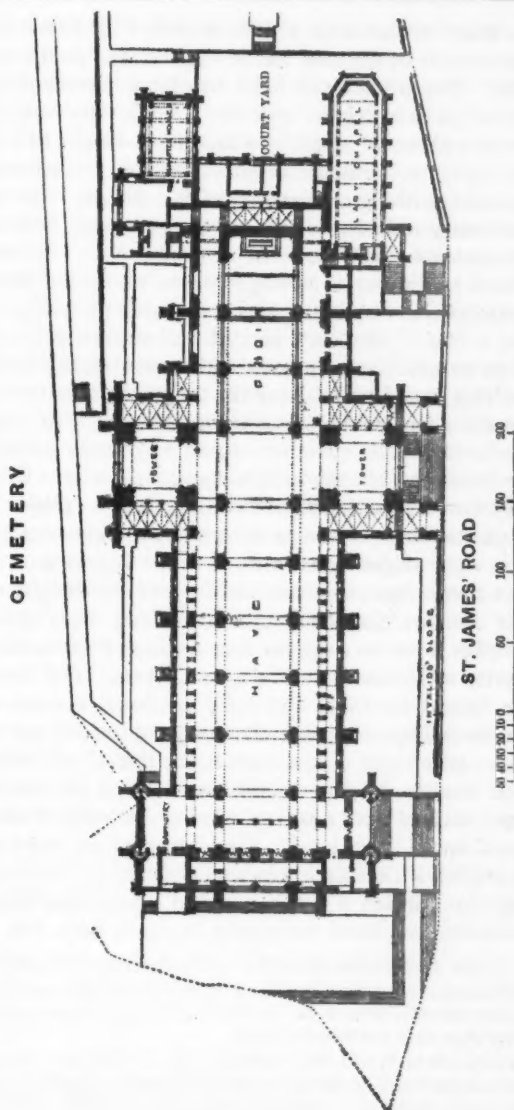
'roofed over, high above the surrounding roofs; by this means we get a great cliff-like effect, and it serves to draw the towers together, so that each forms a part of one distinct central feature. Inside we get a lofty [oblong] space occupying on plan the full width of nave and aisles. . . . The floor area at the crossing—as now planned—exceeds that of the octagon at Ely.'<sup>2</sup>

It is estimated that 'the Cathedral will afford seat room in the portion to be first completed—the choir and central space—for about 3,500 persons.' This is perhaps slightly over-estimated, but when the nave is completed from 3,000 to 4,000 persons can probably be placed within 120 feet of the pulpit and in sight of the preacher. Hence the objection on this ground was rightly reconsidered.

The proportions of the nave will best be grasped by comparison with York Minster. The internal length, stopping short at the central crossing, but including the Narthex porch, is the same as at York, 220 feet, and the width between the columns is also the same. But the effect will be very different. The old Minster has spacious aisles, 20 feet wide, between pier and aisle wall; the new building will be practically a one-aisle church, the side aisles being little more than passage ways, only allowing from 9 to 12 feet between wall and pier. It remains to be seen how

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Freeman in Wickes' monumental volumes of plates of 'Towers and Spires' of English churches, where the *dyarchy* is roundly condemned. See also Rev. W. C. Bishop's interesting work *Pictorial Architecture of the British Isles*.

<sup>2</sup> The measurements work out at about 4,467 sq. feet for Liverpool (holding about 1,000 people closely seated) and 4,225 for Ely.



far the broad centre aisle will harmonize with the comparative narrowness of the total width—85 feet, as against 102 feet at York. The latter, again, has a wooden groined ceiling at a height of 99 feet (choir, 102 feet), while the vaulting at Liverpool will be of stone, at a minimum height of 116 feet at the keystone. But the architect has here introduced one of the distinguishing originalities of his design. He rejects the customary ribbed groining, as 'too light and intricate to give the solemn effect' he aims at producing. He therefore goes back to the barrel or waggon-head method of vaulting, with parallel ribs running right across, cutting the ridge transversely. But if this were carried out uniformly the result would be painfully monotonous, and, moreover, the spring of the vaulting would be too near the top of the arcade to allow of any clerestory windows of adequate size. He therefore introduces in the alternate bays a series of much loftier transepts, whose roofs cut the main ridge transversely. On these he relies for some of his most striking effects. They will be barrel-vaulted (not groined, as shown in the published interior view), at right angles to the axis of the cathedral, and will be 140 feet above the pavement inside, just the height of the nave of Amiens, the tower transept lifting itself 15 feet or more higher, so as to rival, for that section of the work, even the vaults of Beauvais or Cologne. These high transepts will be lighted by large and lofty windows, one set above another in each gable end, and, to anyone looking up at the roof from either end of the church, the line of the ridge will be seen broken by the transverse walls of the successive transepts, pierced with a pair of windows which just clear the main roof on its lower level. The intermediate bays are to have a triplet of clerestory windows right up in the vaulting.<sup>1</sup> The triforium, which is continuous and extends the full width of the aisles,<sup>2</sup> is glazed externally in these bays, but forms

<sup>1</sup> A similar arrangement is familiar in the domes of St. Mark, Venice, St. Sophia, and many Byzantine churches, and we are informed that the precise disposition is often found in the smaller early Christian churches in Greece when they are barrel-vaulted.

<sup>2</sup> At Ely, Norwich, and Peterborough the triforium in a similar way extends over the whole width of the aisle, between the vaulting and the external lean-to roof, but it is always 'blind' in England. At Laon, of

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an open gallery as it traverses the transept ends, thus lending unity to the whole design.

The floor of the Cathedral will stand 150 feet above sea-level, so that the huge towers and gables will grandly dominate the city and the river below it. Hardly anywhere is there a cathedral site which can vie with that on St. James's Mount for the series of unbroken views which will be available over the disused quarry or across the gardens. From Hope Street, which runs along the parallel ridge on the east at a level a few feet higher, it will be possible to appreciate the originality and power of the design. As a rule an English cathedral is seen at its worst from the side. It was partly to break the long line of roof and to avoid the repetition of identical bays that the second transept was introduced at Salisbury and elsewhere. The same end is brilliantly attained in the present case by the unexampled device of the four gable-ended transepts which form, with the twin towers, the features of the lateral aspect. It must be recognized also as a wise resolve that the architect proposes to make very sparing use of decorative sculpture, which seems to have become almost an extinct art, such stonework having degenerated into a mechanical trade product. Effect will be sought by the relief of suitably disposed blank-wall surfaces, in due relation to the structural features. Advantage has been cleverly taken of the westward sloping of the site at the south end to provide, in a two-storey crypt, vestry accommodation, choir practice room, and so forth.

It will be understood, of course, that some of these arrangements may be hereafter modified in detail.<sup>1</sup> In particular

which Mr. Scott's plan reminds us in several points, with its square east end (unique among French cathedrals), its barrel-vaults, and severity of outlines, there is a separate triforium as well as a gallery above the aisles.

<sup>1</sup> The illustrations in the successive editions of the *Liverpool Cathedral* pamphlet make it clear that changes are continually being introduced, in addition to the entire re-arrangement of the south (*quasi* east) end, as proposed in the competition design. The central towers are shown on the perspective drawing (representing probably the competition design), on p. 25 of the January edition, broken up into six stages. One of these, consisting of a pair of meaningless recesses, has disappeared

it may be expected that the north (*quasi* west) end, the published elevation of which has already been withdrawn, will be altered in the years that must elapse before it is erected. Suffice it to say that three doorways, approached by short flights of steps, and set in very lofty recessed portal arches, admit to a Narthex porch extending the whole width of the façade. Internally the Narthex leads into the nave through six inner doorways, each with its minor porch in the thickness of the wall. Externally the building rises in three tiers or steps; the gable end of the main nave roof at the 116-foot level appears behind the projecting Narthex, and above it the northern tower, 200 feet high, sits astride the transverse ridge of the third of the nave transepts on the 140-foot level. The lower storey of this, which might be called the northern tower transept, is carried out to form a baptistery on the east and a great porch on the west, the latter being placed at the most serviceable point for access.

He would be a bold man who would prophesy anything as to the acoustic properties of the building. The present architects do not imitate Sir William Emerson in his confident prediction (*Report*, p. 26) that his 1885 design would ensure success in this most important respect. But the conjecture may be hazarded that the breaking-up of both ceiling and side walls by the high transepts will tend to diminish the risk of reverberation. The same architect's proposal to provide a sounding-board for the pulpit is a good one, and the conch-formed contrivance, successfully used elsewhere, would be invaluable in overcoming any resonance.<sup>1</sup>

(a) from the drawing of one of the central towers given on the cover, with which compare p. 18 (July, p. 24); (b) from the little cut on p. 15 (July, p. 19); and (c) from the north elevation, p. 5 (January only). But in the Foundation Stone edition in July three effective perspective views are inserted (frontispiece, and pp. 14 and 21), in each of which a far simpler and more dignified arrangement of parts is shown, including a magnificent six-light window of original design to crown each end of the tower transept. We could wish that the generous special offer of 5,000*l.*-10,000*l.* were to be used for these two glorious windows instead of an 'east-window' in the southern wall (not in the original design), where the mid-day winter sun may possibly cause considerable inconvenience.

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A fair idea of the appearance of the building in different aspects may be gained from the illustrations, of varied merit, in the official *Liverpool Cathedral* pamphlet. It contains some inspiring paragraphs from an easily recognizable pen on the Cathedral as a Building, as an Institution, and as a Religious Corporation. But the 'Brief Description of the Building' is disfigured by inaccuracies, and should not be reissued without a thorough and critical revision.<sup>1</sup>

A new edition will, no doubt, embody the most recent details as to the Cathedral Fund and the special gifts. Some 230,000*l.* have already been received or promised, including about 30,000*l.* earmarked for specific uses. Lancashire Freemasons are contributing 10,000*l.* in five years to build the Chapter House. Private donors are providing reredos, pulpit, font, and several windows, including the great south (*quasi* east) window; and it is greatly hoped that the Morning Chapel may also constitute such a special gift. Of the remaining 200,000*l.*, the price of the site and legal and other expenses absorb 30,000*l.*, leaving 170,000*l.* available for building. The portion of the main fabric at present undertaken—*i.e.* the three bays of the choir and the tower transept, without the upper stages of the twin towers—is estimated to cost 240,000*l.* This leaves 70,000*l.* to be raised, which can be spread over five years. It is not unreasonable to hope that as the completion of Cologne Cathedral attracted contributions from the whole German Empire, so this too may be supported by donors from all parts of the British Empire, particularly from all old natives of the city or persons whose wealth has been derived from its commerce.

It would be rash to attempt too precise a forecast of the ultimate cost of the whole. 900,000*l.* was spent on the completion of Cologne Cathedral between 1842 and 1880, when it was opened by the German Emperor, William I. Liverpool is not to have crocketed spires, 512 feet high, nor

<sup>1</sup> The Nave in the latest plans is 201½ (not 195) feet, and 255 (not 240) feet to the entrance of the choir. There is much looseness in details as to other cathedrals, the calculation of floor-space, and architectural descriptions—*e.g.* position of Triforium, &c.

the same bewildering profusion of flying buttresses, finials, and decorative ornamentation. But it will certainly not cost less than the half-million sterling already mentioned as the approximate amount, and the total expense may very well mount up to 750,000*l.* We believe, however, that Churchmen in all parts of the world will applaud the courage and devotion of which the undertaking is a proof. A meaner, cheaper structure might have served for more restricted and less permanent uses; but Liverpool Churchmen, conscious of their heritage in the National Church, have resolved, under God, to raise such a monument as shall not only witness to many generations the supremacy of things eternal and the invincible energy of our historic Christianity, but shall lift its portals grandly upon its quiet hill, and await in calm expectancy the day of Christian reunion.

Already in Liverpool two notable tributes have been paid by Nonconformist leaders to the nobility and wholesomeness of the ideals of the English Church. Last year Dr. John Hunter, in his *Plea for a Worshipful Church*, commended to an assembly of delegates, with fervour and fulness, those principles of worship on which the Book of Common Prayer is based. And on the Sunday after the laying of the foundation-stone of the Cathedral, Dr. John Watson, who had already warmly acknowledged to the Bishop his pleasure in being present by invitation at the ceremony, preached a sermon which was a most generous appreciation of the power of the Church of England to train her children, through the parochial system, in reverence and devotion. So the mere inauguration of the scheme has brought its broader gains, which every stage of accomplishment must tend to increase.

The great ends which the establishment of a Cathedral may be expected to serve were dealt with at length in our previous article. The Archbishop of Canterbury has just referred to them in his sermon at Quebec, as reported in the *Guardian* for September 14. They will be treated at the opening session of the forthcoming Church Congress, when the Bishop of St. Albans, with his double experience of Newcastle and his present see, will speak on the Cathedral

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and the Diocese, while the Dean of Ely will set forth the Functions of the Cathedral Staff. Their papers will be preceded by an address from Mr. Bodley on 'How our Old Cathedrals were Built,' which not only promises to be rich in historical interest, but may have its direct lessons and its more indirect analogies for those who are seeking to add in these late days one more to the number of our English cathedrals.

It is the less necessary, therefore, for us to return to this aspect of the subject at length. It is of some interest, however, to follow a train of thought suggested by the old name, Mount Zion, which in eighteenth-century maps was applied to St. James's Mount. Herod's Temple, the product of a king's impulse of ostentation, reared those who crucified its Lord and who brought upon it at the last its final ruin. Solomon's Temple, we are beginning to learn, was, in the eyes of the people, more of a royal chapel than a national sanctuary; and though in the later days of Judah it became the pledge of Divine protection to a numerous party, it was destroyed before it had realized adequately its high intent. In the Exile, when national worship was impossible, a new need arose for local, congregational forms of religious worship, and the synagogue was born. Then a fresh danger arose: the danger of parochialism, of the isolation of the parts and the obliteration of the centre. The second Temple was built, not at the will or by the wealth of a monarch, but from the gifts of the people and in response to the need of the time; and it was this Temple which gathered about it those feelings of reverence, and even passionate devotion, which find expression in the Psalter as we now have it. Already the pence of the poor have mingled with the gold of the rich in the gifts that have come in for the building of a temple of God in which the Church folk of south-west Lancashire may kindle aspiration and learn reverence. The first need of the diocese was the strengthening and organization of the parochial system. The moment has now arrived for the revived Church life of the localities to find a worthy organ for its united expression and further development. And with the moment has come the man. For

although, with the self-effacing humility which he breathes in every act, the Bishop has left it to laymen to preside at the meetings of the various Cathedral committees, and thrown upon them large burdens of responsibility and labour which they have most cheerfully borne, his colleagues would be the first to admit that the decisive impulse has come from him. It was when he, whose life had been to an exceptional degree consecrated to the edification of the spiritual temple, called them to follow him in the effort to build a visible House of God that many who otherwise had held aloof came forward to support the movement; and if the promoters, who, like other people, have made their mistakes, have been, unlike many, willing to own and remedy them, we may be sure that the influence of the Bishop was no inconsiderable factor in the process.

Hitherto we have said nothing of any provision for the cathedral staff. Events have, at any rate, written large the evidence of need. Three years ago it was suggested in these columns that of the canonries contemplated one might be devoted to the furtherance of Christian education in the schools, and another to the training of students for the ministry and of clergy for the more efficient discharge of their calling. The passing of the Education Act has thrown such new responsibilities upon Churchmen, and so perpetuated the old, that the urgency of setting apart a man for the oversight of this work is more patent than ever. The establishment of the University of Liverpool and the projected affiliation of St. Aidan's College as loudly proclaim the need for a canon to whom the direction of theological study and training in the diocese can be committed.<sup>1</sup> It may be hoped that when the time comes for this canonry to be founded the stigma will have been removed from the University of being by its charter prevented from directly preparing its students for that profession whose members are brought most closely in touch with the people, and which is ennobled by the loftiest of aims. An important

<sup>1</sup> It should be added that the Bishop's Hostel, under a resident Vice-Principal, the Bishop himself being Principal, trains graduates for Holy Orders. It accommodates about eight students, and has attracted to the diocese many workers of more than average quality.

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clause in the Liverpool Cathedral Act, 1902, provides that when any part of the Cathedral is opened for Divine service St. Peter's Church shall be closed and the very valuable site sold. In this way a large capital sum will be obtained, which will form a substantial nucleus for the Cathedral endowment fund. At the same time, the suggestion made in this Review, that 10 per cent. of all moneys received on behalf of the Cathedral should be assigned to this fund, is perhaps not less worthy of consideration now than when first put forth. It is right that from the first Churchmen should understand the necessity of a proper permanent provision for the living agents on whose presence and efficiency the practical value of the structure depends.

Meanwhile the Diocese cannot stand still and wait for its Cathedral. How clearly its Bishop perceived this is shown by the fact that on May 23, 1901, on the eve of the formal launching of the Cathedral scheme, which took place in June, he issued a Commission to inquire into the spiritual needs of the Diocese. The Church seems to manage these things better than the State. Royal Commissions are in many minds convenient instruments for quietly shelving inconvenient questions. Bishop's Commissions have again and again led to most important action. At Newcastle, the Commission of 1883 resulted in the collection of a large fund which is an abiding source of strength to the Diocese. At Birmingham, the Bishop of Worcester's Commission of 1896-98 led directly to the Birmingham Churches Act, 1897, under which two churches have been sold and an amendment of the St. Martin's Act, 1893, secured. Through this means it is reckoned that a sum of 800*l.* to 1,000*l.* a year has been set free for meeting the altered needs of the present. No doubt also the very full report issued greatly strengthened the case for the Southwark and Birmingham Bishoprics Act, 1904. At Leeds, the Commission of 1899-1900, produced the Leeds Churches Act, 1901, which procured statutory powers to remove three city churches and to unite three pairs of contiguous parishes. In Liverpool itself, a Commission appointed by the Bishop of Chester in 1879 was the means of establishing several new churches. The late Bishop Ryle, again, issued a Commission in 1889,

the immediate outcome of which was the Diocesan Clergy Sustentation Fund, which has given to Liverpool an enviable position among other dioceses for the provision secured to its beneficed clergy. Its aim, now nearly realized, has been to ensure to every beneficed clergyman 300*l.* a year and a house, if in a town, or 275*l.* and a house, if in the country. It was not thought possible or politic to regard only the *benefice*, independently of the private means of the incumbent. In the same connexion, it may be of interest to mention the Incumbents' Pension Fund, constituted in 1886, and augmented in 1897 to a total of 25,000*l.* by the generosity of the late Mrs. Charles Turner. This enables a clergyman to retire without crippling his successor, by claiming any part of the income, under the Incumbents' Resignation Act.

The 1901-2 Commissioners began by issuing a form of inquiry to all the incumbents in the Diocese. The returns were carefully tabulated, and all matters requiring further inquiry were investigated in the several rural deaneries before the Commissioners came to a final decision. Their Report, issued at the end of 1902, is clear and concise, but comprehensive. Anyone wishing to obtain as it were a bird's-eye view of the present equipment and conditions of work of the various parishes in the Liverpool Diocese cannot do better than procure a copy. One of the peculiar features of Church work in Liverpool comes out very plainly. 'It has been established afresh that in certain riverside areas the Roman Catholics immensely preponderate. In certain other parishes . . . the proportion of Roman Catholics is very high, though they are not in a majority.' It is only fair that this fact should be borne in mind in estimating the significance of the ultra-Protestant agitation, which has produced such regrettable scenes of rowdyism and violence. The large demand for unskilled labour in the docks and warehouses naturally attracted to the adjacent districts a great influx of population from Ireland, from the Protestant north, as well as from the Roman Catholic centre and south. These and their English neighbours are of course, on the average, less educated and refined than skilled workers would be. Neither side has had a fair chance of seeing the best of the other. If

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the statistics of pauperism and crime show a large excess of Roman Catholics in proportion to their share of the population of the city, that may be only because they preponderate so considerably in this the lowest class of the community. But all this somewhat explains how it has come about that bigotry has been bred in the very bones of some thousands of professing Christians in Liverpool. Just as anti-Semitism has, under the cloak of religion, run riot in Germany and France, so this baser sort of Orange Protestantism is a genuine obsession of the mind with whole classes of the community. Scarcely more than two or three of the local clergy have identified themselves with the extremer section, and even these have dissociated themselves from the more recent and scandalous proceedings. The local leader, Mr. George Wise, who was elected by large majorities on the School Board and the City Council, has dropped the mask of Churchmanship and started a conventicle of his own. The Watch Committee propose to apply for an increase of their powers, and meanwhile are doing all they can to prevent disturbance and annoyance. As a matter of fact, leaving out of account the mob of ignorant or half-educated people, who are at the mercy of the demagogues who tickle their ears, the relations between Churchmen of different schools were never better. In former days a High Churchman had little chance of membership, and none of a hearing, at the meetings of the Liverpool Clerical Society. Now the Junior Clerical Society, established to secure the facilities denied by the older society, has found its original purpose obsolete, and has wisely sought a fresh *raison d'être* by affiliating itself to the Central Society of Sacred Study. In its lists of readers and speakers the most refreshing impartiality may be observed. At the same time, it were to be wished that, for the credit of their own party, more of the recognized Evangelical leaders had followed the example of their Bishop, and rebuked the fanatical and unspiritual bigotry which was dragging the name of 'Protestant' in the mire.

The Commissioners make a useful recommendation, worthy of a wider adoption, that an official Diocesan map should be prepared, 'showing authoritatively the boundaries.

of all parishes, and indicating the positions of all glebe land and buildings.'

Many of the parishes in the diocese are still much too large. The Commissioners<sup>1</sup> 'regard it as expedient that, as a general rule, the population of a parish should not exceed 10,000. . . . In thirty-eight cases this limit is passed, and in some instances the excess is very large.'<sup>2</sup>

In another paragraph, in which they attempt to estimate 'the extent of the deficiency in the numbers of the parochial clergy,' who have to work in these overgrown parishes, the Commissioners say that they

'have sought a middle course between the ideal attained in a few exceptional parishes, highly organized and well worked, and the undermanned, and therefore comparatively inefficient, condition of some of the poorer parishes. They have adopted the principle that no parish with over 2,500 population should have less than two clergy; that no parish with over 7,000 population should have less than three clergy; and that no parish with over 12,000 population should have less than four clergy.'

Allowing for the work of lay agents, and for parishes with an excess of Roman Catholics, the conclusion is reached that 'fifty-five additional clergy are needed.' It would be hard to find fault with the standard as over-exacting, when applied with the qualifications mentioned. Yet the result abundantly justifies those who urge the necessity of a substantial increase all over the country in the number of fully qualified ordained men.

Some curious facts come to light as to vicarages. In an unusual number of cases leave has been granted for incumbents to reside out of the parish. In one parish seven incumbents live. The Bishop has repeatedly expressed his view that every incumbent should reside in his parish or within a short distance of the church. Fifty-seven parishes out of two hundred and eight are without vicarages. In some cases, in residential parts, it was thought doubtfully

<sup>1</sup> Report, p. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Eleven parishes contain over 15,000 people; St. Mary, Kirkdale, has 29,345.

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expedient to saddle the benefice with a vicarage house, which might not suit everybody.

With regard to the question of clerical incomes, 'it is recommended that no parish should be recognized as properly equipped for its work unless there be an endowment of at least 200*l.* a year, exclusive of residence.' A useful table of benefices which fall short of this standard is given on p. 30 of the Report, where the net income is stated if it be under 350*l.*, or 300*l.* and house.<sup>1</sup> The Wigan Rural Deanery alone has no benefice with less than 200*l.* endowment.

As regards many of these matters, all that the Commissioners could hope was that for some years their Report would remain as authoritative evidence of what needed to be achieved by voluntary effort. Already in the short time that has elapsed several new district churches and mission-rooms have been opened, and other forward steps have been taken. But a number of important changes could only be effected by Act of Parliament. Most of these affected Liverpool. So last year a Liverpool Committee was formed to promote a Bill, which has been successfully carried through all its stages and became law in July last. The Committee explain in their Report that 'the measure was of necessity a complex one, as no less than twenty-five churches were affected, and several matters, completely independent of one another, had to be included.' In the first place, the shifting of population from the business parts of the town towards the suburbs had brought about an excess of church accommodation in certain riverside parishes. The Act provides for removing four churches—All Souls', St. Titus, St. Thomas (Park Lane), and St. Mark (Upper Duke Street), the last once accommodating a fashionable congregation of 2,500—and for transferring their property and endowments to new districts, after making suitable provision for the population of existing parishes. It need hardly be added that these changes are all to take place only on the avoidance of the several benefices or with the consent of the incumbents. St. Stephen (Byrom

<sup>1</sup> In all, seventy-four parishes have less than 200*l.* endowment (eleven having none at all), and 100 have net income below the standard specified above.

Street), which now stands in a tiny *enclave* cut out for it from the adjacent parish of Christ Church (Hunter Street), the whole of its own parish being on the other side of the thoroughfare, will in the future be the parish church of the united benefice, Christ Church, if necessary, remaining as a chapel of ease.<sup>1</sup> St. Paul (Liverpool) is already closed, and though left out of the Act, at the request of the patrons, is bound to be dealt with soon on similar lines. St. George's, Wigan, can now also be pulled down and rebuilt on a more appropriate site. Hence the title 'Liverpool and Wigan Churches Act.' It is estimated that the amount set free by these rearrangements will be as much as 1,600*l.* a year, the total expenses of promoting this comprehensive measure being just about 1,600*l.* It is not often that givers can secure an augmentation of 100 per cent. per annum for their donations.

The only other matter in the Act that requires mention is the removal of the anomalies connected with the parish of Liverpool. Church after church had been built, either under its own private Act or under the general powers contained in the St. Martin's Act, 1829. Some had already been made legal parishes, but thirteen churches had still only conventional districts, over which the incumbents had varying and ill-defined responsibilities. Accordingly, the old private Acts, to the number of eight, have been repealed, a legal district is to be assigned to each church, and on the opening of the Cathedral the strange system of double fees will cease, by which the rector's fees are collected by the incumbents in addition to their own. A strong body of clerical and lay trustees has been constituted to supervise the execution of the Act.

The Committee hope presently to support the Bishop in the inauguration of a Bishop of Liverpool's Fund, which shall, with greater appearance of unity than a congeries of separate societies can present, make appeal for the spiritual needs of the Church. The elementary Church schools are exceptionally strong. Warrington was the most populous town in England without a School Board. In Liverpool only

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a minority of the children went to Board Schools. We understand that, on the whole, the Education Committees have dealt fairly, and even generously, with the non-provided schools. The policy of federating the smaller schools is under consideration. The provision of paid lay workers is undertaken on a large scale in Liverpool by the Scripture Readers' Society and the Ladies' Bible and Domestic Mission. A Lay Readers' Association helps to keep together voluntary workers. Sunday Schools have an Institute of their own, which has library, museum, and offices in the Church House, and which annually publishes its own Lesson Notes. The Diocesan Branch of the Church of England Temperance Society is the largest and most vigorous organization out of London. Its Police Court and Prison Gate Mission, its Women's Home and Laundry, and its Firewood Factory are special features of the work. The spiritual oversight of seamen is actively undertaken by the Mersey Mission, which has always been as successful in attracting chaplains and lay helpers who are thoroughly well qualified for the work, as it has been in rallying to its support many who hold aloof from other religious societies. The Waifs and Strays Society has its local office, where all the work within the Diocese is administered. In Foreign Missions Liverpool has shown a rapidly growing interest. Independently of the ordinary committees, the younger clerical supporters of both the two great societies have banded themselves together in efficient branches of the J.C.M.A. and the Y.C.U. In its Church House the Diocese has an unequalled centre of administration. Under the same roof, in the Bishop Ryle Library, a collection of some 7,000 volumes, mainly theological, is lodged. It is well catalogued, and most of the books may be taken out by readers. Altogether, it must be admitted that Liverpool bids fair to be one of the best organized dioceses in the kingdom.

Behind the machinery are the men. They or their predecessors called it into existence. Its working is in their hands. It would be invidious, in the limited space that is left to us, to single out individuals. But after making allowance for the tendency of each observer to become a *laudator temporis*

*acti*, or to think that things must be better under other skies, it must be recognized that, if there are not many brilliant preachers or profound scholars among the diocesan clergy (a statement not limited in application to Liverpool), they maintain, as a body, a high standard of hard work and practical ability, and achieve such a measure of success in their difficult tasks, that they need not fear comparison with their brethren elsewhere. In our previous article, already referred to, we tried to sum up some of the characteristics of Bishop Ryle's episcopate. It will not be unfitting if we recur for a moment, in conclusion, to the person of the Bishop. In the second occupant of the See of Liverpool, Church people generally, not to say members of a much larger circle, have come to recognize one who is the Bishop of all. By his unremitting labours, ready sympathy, unstinted liberality, and profound spirituality, united with a rare gift of tact and wisdom, Dr. Chavasse has not only brought people together, but stirred them to work and to give. Southport, Wigan, Warrington, St. Helens, are realising as never before that they are parts of one great whole, and, when the Cathedral is solemnly opened, that which a common effort had reared will, under God, become a loadstone to draw to one another and to God the several towns and parishes, of which it will be the glorious centre.

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## ART. IX.—THE VIRGIN BIRTH OF CHRIST.

1. *Dissertations on Subjects connected with the Incarnation I. The Virgin Birth of Our Lord.* By CHARLES GORE, M.A. (London : Murray, 1895.)
2. *Critical Questions : a Course of Sermons. V. The Virgin Birth of Our Lord Jesus Christ.* By WILLIAM SANDAY, D.D. (London : S. C. Brown, Langham and Co., 1903.)
3. *Some Thoughts on the Incarnation.* By J. ARMITAGE ROBINSON, D.D. (London : Longmans, 1903.)
4. *The Virgin Birth of Our Lord.* By B. W. RANDOLPH, D.D. (London : Longmans, 1903.)
5. *The Virgin Birth of Christ.* By PAUL LOBSTEIN. Edited by W. D. MORRISON, LL.D. (London : Williams and Norgate, 1903.)
6. *Our Lord's Virgin Birth and the Criticism of To-day.* By R. J. KNOWLING, D.D. (London : S.P.C.K., 1903.)
7. *The Encyclopædia Biblica.* Articles, 'Mary' and 'Nativity.' (London : A. and C. Black, 1902.)
8. *The Doctrinal Significance of a Miraculous Birth.* By C. E. BEEBY. *Hibbert Journal*, October 1903. (London : Williams and Norgate.)
9. *The Virgin Birth of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.* By R. M. BENSON, S.S.J.E. (Norwich : A. H. Goose, 1904.)

THE article of the Creed which sets forth the belief of the Church that Jesus Christ was born of a Virgin Mother has been the subject during recent years of a controversy which is beginning to cause uneasiness to many good Christian people who do not as a rule trouble themselves with theological disputations. For the mere fact that the truth of the article is being questioned not only by those who are incredulous of the claims of Christ, but by some who call Him Master and Lord, and desire with unaffected sincerity to retain their place and privilege as members of His Church, and partakers of His redemption, is felt to be

significant. The question has, indeed, been raised many times in Christian history by individual thinkers, but their speculations have generally been regarded as eccentricities of criticism, which might safely be passed by, when they were not obviously the outcome of a disbelief in the Incarnation. But it has now become apparent that the Church must re-examine the foundations of this article of the Creed, for it is being urged by some who are entitled to be heard that the progress of knowledge demands a revision of her formularies, or, if that cannot be attained, that a greater freedom in their interpretation should be conceded to her members than has heretofore been permitted. The time, therefore, seems opportune to inquire whether the advance of science and the light which criticism has shed upon the sacred text of the Gospels have, to any appreciable extent, diminished the confidence with which a Christian man may say, 'I believe in Jesus Christ . . . Who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, Born of the Virgin Mary.'

The first observation which must be made is an obvious one, but needful of remembrance at this time as much as at any other period in the Church's history. The article in question is a statement of a fact, and not of a theory about facts. It is a statement of *fact*. There is no ambiguity about the terms in which it is expressed, nor is there any controversy as to what it means. It means that our Lord Jesus Christ had no earthly father, and that His conception in the womb of the Blessed Virgin Mary was brought about by Divine agency, without being preceded by the normal antecedents of conception.<sup>1</sup> No one has ever supposed that it means anything else but this. Every branch of the Church has understood it to mean exactly this. And thus the article of the Creed under consideration must be either true or false as a statement of historical fact. There is no way out of the dilemma, nor has any ever been proposed. If it be false, then all Christendom has been mistaken in this matter, since the beginning of the second century, at

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Luke i. 35: 'The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee; therefore also the holy thing which is to be born shall be called the Son of God.'

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any rate. We do not propose to rest our case on authority, but we desire to call attention at the outset of our inquiry to the magnitude of the issue involved. Whether it can be *proved* true or false is another question, for, like any other allegation of fact, the verdict 'not proven' might conceivably be the only safe verdict to bring in. But the statement in itself must be either true or untrue.

Secondly, a fact is here alleged to have taken place which is abnormal in our experience, outside the ordinary course of nature, and therefore essentially miraculous, a signal instance of the Divine operation. And if the position be assumed that 'miracles are impossible,' or that 'miracles do not happen' under any circumstances, then *cadit quæstio*. No one who rejects the miraculous can accept this article of the Creed.<sup>1</sup> But if credence be refused to it on such grounds as these, then the Christianity of the Apostolic age was rooted and grounded in a lie, and we must be prepared to abandon not only our belief in the Virgin Birth of Christ, but also our belief in His Resurrection from the dead and Ascension into heaven. It is quite true that in our present ignorance of the inmost workings of nature we are not entitled to assert with confidence that these extraordinary and unprecedented occurrences may not all be brought in the future under the protection of 'natural' laws. That is a possibility which our children's children may find to be illustrated in countless ways of which we can conjecture nothing. But, our knowledge being what it is, there is a wide and clear distinction between those events whose antecedents we can understand, which we call 'natural,' and those which are insusceptible of merely physical explanation. And Christianity is deeply pledged to the acceptance of both these classes of

<sup>1</sup> And therefore it would seem that Mr. Beeby's views and ours are so widely divergent that there is not much profit in examining his arguments in detail. To some of them, however, we shall return presently; it is enough here to say that no reasonably instructed Christian supposes that by recognizing the 'miraculous' he excludes God from the normal energies of nature, and that 'we must look for the sign of God's presence to a small and very special department of human life' ('The Doctrinal Significance of a Miraculous Birth,' *H. J.* Oct. 1903, p. 127).

events.<sup>1</sup> The Crucifixion is a 'natural' event; the Resurrection is 'supernatural,' as we say, for want of a better word, although we do not mean thereby to allege that the hand of God may not be as truly discerned in events of the natural order; and we cannot abandon our belief in the Virgin Birth of Christ merely because it is outside the ordinary course of nature, unless we are prepared to abandon for a like reason the Resurrection of Christ, the preventing grace of God, and the efficacy of prayer.

These obvious considerations are often overlooked in hasty discussions of the subject before us, and it was therefore worth while to rehearse them. But we must now proceed to the consideration of the main reasons, apart from any general abandonment of the miraculous, which seem to account just now for the reluctance on the part of some sincerely Christian people to recite their confession of belief in the Virgin Birth. The first, and the most common, stumbling-block is to be found in the supposed insufficiency of the evidence for so momentous and extraordinary an event. It is clear that a man is entitled to expect good evidence before he pledges himself to belief in anything of the sort. The Virgin Birth is, no doubt, related in the New Testament, and there were days when any 'text' of Holy Scripture on this or any other subject would have been regarded as the 'end of controversy.' But we cannot conceal from ourselves that those days are over, and that men no longer claim for every statement of the Bible inerrancy as to details of fact.<sup>2</sup> We prize

<sup>1</sup> Professor Lobstein would seem to admit as much as this, and he quotes with approval some words of M. Sabatier on the point. 'For the Christian, God is in what the ordinary man calls nature, and also in the region which he proclaims above nature. . . . He does not deny the extraordinary facts of which history assures him, but he learns to look upon them in another light, as proceeding from the very depths of the eternal creation of God, and not as later additions from without' (*The Virgin Birth of Christ*, p. 138). Professor Lobstein's book has one great merit, that it is a genuine attempt to retain all that is spiritually valuable in the doctrine of the Incarnation, although he rejects the miracle of the Virgin Birth. Its religious tone and temper are worthy of all praise, but we cannot agree with his estimate of the evidence.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Lobstein: 'It seems to me unnecessary to linger over a point of view which, in theory at least, is rejected by all thoughtful theologians.

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its spiritual message as much as our fathers did—even more highly, it may be, than they did, because we have learnt better the conditions under which the message was recorded and has been preserved for us. But we have learnt, too, that inspiration does not necessarily involve an infallible and scientific precision of statement.<sup>1</sup> And the question is asked, What if the infancy narratives of the first and third Gospels are untrustworthy as to the antecedents of the birth of Jesus Christ? We recognize that the question may honestly be put by a believer in the Christian revelation, and we desire to say so at once, to avoid misapprehension, before we begin to sift and co-ordinate the evidence of the New Testament writers and of those of the succeeding age as to the matter of fact with which we are immediately concerned.

What, then, is the *a posteriori* testimony to which we may appeal? It consists (A) of the narratives of St. Matthew and St. Luke; (B) of some phrases in St. Paul, St. John, St. Ignatius, and one or two other early writers; and something must be said as to each of these.

(A) The narratives in St. Matt. i. and St. Luke i., ii. have received full treatment in the last number of the *Church Quarterly Review*, and it is not necessary to go over the same ground again. But for clearness we must rehearse the leading points in our own order.

Of the two Gospel accounts of the Nativity, neither belongs to what is called the Synoptic tradition. This embodies the substance of the story of the Christ as originally preached by those who from the outset were 'eyewitnesses and ministers

No one to-day persists in maintaining the verbal inspiration theory of Gaussen and of the theology of the Revival' (*loc. cit.* p. 40). The Revival to which Professor Lobstein alludes was a pietist movement in French and Swiss Protestantism during the last century, but his words are applicable more widely.

<sup>1</sup> We could not go at all as far as the editor of Dr. Lobstein's book, who asserts that 'the inspiration of the Bible is confined to its eternal religious substance, and does not extend to the external forms in which the Bible expresses religious truth' (p. 14). And it may well be questioned whether the narrative of the birth of Jesus is a 'detail,' as some have called it, for which the evidence of Scripture is no sufficient guarantee. But we prefer not to appeal to any theory of inspiration when investigating an historical question

of the word.' It gives the personal testimony of the Apostles, and begins, therefore, with the baptism of the Lord, when His public ministry was inaugurated. This was the beginning of the good news, and St. Mark's Gospel, which gives the Synoptic tradition in its earliest form, so represents it. From the day on which the eleven Apostles met to consider their course after the Ascension, Christianity claimed to rest on the testimony of eyewitnesses, of those who had seen the things which they proclaimed as the Gospel. And thus in the earliest appeals which were made by Christian teachers there was no room for any insistence on the manner of Christ's birth. Whether the Apostles had heard of its wonderful character or no at so early a date, they could not speak of it from personal knowledge, and in any case, therefore, it would find no place in the earliest Christian sermons, or in that early record of the ministry, death, Resurrection, and Ascension of Christ which we have in the Second Gospel, and which lies behind the First and Third Gospels. The Nativity narratives are independent of the Synoptic tradition, and it is quite natural that they should be so.

We begin with St. Luke's account. His Gospel may be dated, with much confidence, as having been written within a few years after the Fall of Jerusalem, that is, before 80 A.D.; and there is no reason for supposing that its introductory chapters were written at any later time. The whole book exhibits many traces of unity of authorship. Now, the problem as to the sources from which the author derived his information for chaps. i., ii. will probably never be completely solved; but it cannot be doubted that these sources were Jewish. The curiously minute account of the ritual at the presentation in the Temple, for instance, is worthy of note:

'When the days of their purification according to the law of Moses were fulfilled, they brought Him up to Jerusalem to present Him to the Lord (as it is written in the law of the Lord, Every male that openeth the womb shall be called holy to the Lord), and to offer a sacrifice according to that which is said in the law of the Lord, A pair of turtle doves or two young pigeons' (Luke ii. 22-24).

Dr. Sanday has observed that this 'is very unlike St. Luke,

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the disciple of St. Paul, the great opponent of everything legal, and very unlike the date 75-80 A.D., when the Christian Church had long given up these Jewish usages.<sup>1</sup> And the spirit of Jewish particularism which appears in these chapters, and notably in the Canticles, when considered side by side with the nature of their Christology, has led many scholars to infer that St. Luke is working here on an Aramaic document which, *more suo*, he has rehandled and impressed with the characteristics of his own inimitable style.

'He shall be great, and shall be called the Son of the Most High : and the Lord God shall give unto Him the throne of His father David : and He shall reign over the house of Jacob for ever ; and of His kingdom there shall be no end.'<sup>2</sup>

'He hath holpen Israel His Servant that He might remember mercy (as He spake unto our fathers) toward Abraham and his seed for ever.'

The Judaic spirit of these passages is unmistakeable. So too Anna the prophetess spake of the Child 'to all them that were looking for the redemption of Jerusalem.' The Benedictus tells of the redemption of the Chosen People and the horn of salvation which has been raised up in the house of David. The Messianic deliverance will take the form of salvation from Israel's political and hereditary foes. And although Simeon the aged has a glimpse of the enlightenment of the Gentiles (such as appears in some passages in the later Isaiah), yet the consummation of his joy is the thought of the glory of God's people, Israel. Dr. Harnack, indeed, and others, regard the Canticles as due to the creative genius of St. Luke himself, who caught with marvellous fidelity the temper and tone of the period of which he wrote ; but we cannot think this a satisfactory explanation. Whatever may be said as to the narrative portions of Luke i., ii., we cannot but believe that the Benedictus, Magnificat, and Nunc Dimittis

<sup>1</sup> *Critical Questions*, p. 135.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Randolph quotes Dr. Chase's apposite comment : 'How can all this be the invention of a believer in the Messiahship of Jesus when the Jews had rejected Him, and when the Resurrection and Ascension had raised the conception of His Messiahship to the height of a spiritual and universal sovereignty ?' (*The Virgin Birth of our Lord*, p. 25).

are Greek translations of native psalms or hymns, distinguished mainly from the still earlier Psalms of Solomon, by the spiritual insight which they reveal, and the dignity and simplicity of the ideals to which they point forward.<sup>1</sup>

Some writers, e.g. Dr. Sanday,<sup>2</sup> would go further than this, and see traces of an Aramaic document underlying the whole of St. Luke's first two chapters. We confess that we do not think the evidence is sufficient to warrant this inference. They are, indeed, steeped in Old Testament phraseology. At point after point language is used which recalls the phraseology of the Jewish Scriptures. But St. Luke was familiar with the Septuagint version, and it is a quite tenable view that he deliberately composed this part of his narrative in words which should recall the familiar tales of Hebrew history.<sup>3</sup> He was, undoubtedly, a writer of artistic genius; and no part of his Gospel, not even the parable of the Prodigal Son, is written with greater felicity of diction than the story of the Nativity. Did we not claim for him a higher title to respect, we should say that he nowhere betrays a more perfect and exquisite taste than here, choosing, as he does, to use words already full of sacred associations when he set himself to tell of the birth of the Christ.

Professor Briggs, of New York, has published an interesting, though not entirely convincing, theory as to the 'sources' of St. Luke's opening chapters.<sup>4</sup> He finds no less than seven

<sup>1</sup> See Ryle and James, *Psalms of Solomon*, p. lx. 'The writings which, in our opinion, most nearly approach our Psalms in style and character are the hymns preserved in the early chapters of St. Luke's Gospel, which in point of date of composition probably stand nearer to the Psalms of Solomon than any other portion of the New Testament.' Cf. also p. xci.

<sup>2</sup> *Critical Questions*, p. 134. 'I conclude, then, that by far the most probable hypothesis is that in these chapters St. Luke was using an older writing.'

<sup>3</sup> This is the view of the Dean of Westminster: 'I see no reason for thinking that he used any pre-existing document at this point; he was probably putting the story into writing for the first time, as the result of his own inquiries; and his style is modelled on the old Hebrew stories, which he was familiar with through the Greek translation of the Old Testament' (*Some Thoughts on the Incarnation*, p. 39).

<sup>4</sup> *New Light on the Life of Jesus*, p. 162 sqq.

pieces of poetry embedded in the narrative—viz. the Benedictus, Magnificat, Nunc Dimittis, the Song of the Angels, the Annunciation to Mary (in four fragments, i. 28, 30-33, 35-37, 38), the Song of Elizabeth (i. 42-45), and the Annunciation to Zacharias (i. 13-17). These he holds to be manifestly translations of Hebrew poetry, and believes himself able to determine the metre in which they were originally composed, six of them being in trimeters and one in pentameters. Dr. Briggs suggests further that we have a kindred pentameter fragment in Matt. i. 20, 21 (the Annunciation to Joseph). And his conclusion is that we have here the *disjecta membra* of two longer poems of the infancy, written in Hebrew, one of which was chiefly used by St. Matthew, and the other by St. Luke. These poems, he thinks, were current among the relatives of Jesus after His Resurrection, and would have been, in his view, historical sources of the highest value, St. Luke's story of the infancy being 'nothing more than a prose setting for the seven poetic pieces given by him.' We are somewhat sceptical as to the precision with which the original metres can be determined, nor are we convinced that St. Luke i. 13-17, or St. Matt. i. 20, 21, are poetry rather than prose, or that Dr. Briggs has shown cause sufficient for holding that the passages which he culls from the story of the Annunciation are merely extracts from a poem. But we are disposed to think, nevertheless, that his general view of St. Luke i., ii., contains an element of truth, and that if St. Luke used documentary sources at all in these early chapters, they were most probably poems like the Canticles.

The narrative is, indeed, much more than a 'prose setting' for such poetical pieces, inasmuch as they occupy but a small portion after all of chapters i., ii. Nor must it be forgotten that if St. Luke incorporated quotations of the kind into his narrative, he gave them the *imprimatur* of his own authority. He had just declared (i. 3, 4) that his purpose in writing was to trace 'the course of all things *accurately* from the first,' that Theophilus might 'know the *certainly* concerning the things wherein he had been instructed.' And it has been abundantly proved many times that, wherever his historical statements can be tested, he justifies this claim to be a trustworthy

historian.<sup>1</sup> It would be a strange way indeed of conveying accurate and certain information if St. Luke, the careful writer, who was a physician as well as an historian, should proceed in his very first chapter to set down a mythical account of the Saviour's birth, for which his *only* authority was the phraseology of a current hymn. Dr. Lobstein regards this tradition as 'a myth created by popular devotion, and destined to explain the Divine Sonship of Christ by His supernatural generation.'<sup>2</sup> However, it is quite certain, so far as any literary inference is certain, that St. Luke did not regard it as a 'myth,' and that he composed his narrative with a full conviction that the Christ was miraculously born.<sup>3</sup>

But whether Dr. Briggs be right or not in his theory that poems of the Nativity were in circulation among Christian believers when St. Luke wrote, it is clear that the story of the wonderful birth must ultimately be due to the Blessed Virgin herself, if it be true; and that St. Luke sets it down as true would naturally suggest that he believed her to have told it, if not to him, yet to others whose witness had reached him. And it is full of interest to observe that the narrative, as we have it, suggests in its phraseology that it came ultimately from a woman. Dr. Sanday calls attention to 'the remarkable mode of dating events'<sup>4</sup> in such passages as i. 24, 26, 56,

<sup>1</sup> The question of the governorship of Quirinius has been so often discussed that it would be tedious to reopen it in this article. But reference may be made to the discussion in Prof. Ramsay's *Was Christ Born in Bethlehem?* and Dr. Plummer's article *s.v.* 'Quirinius,' as well as to Mr. Turner's 'Chronology of the New Testament,' in Hastings' *Bible Dictionary*. The data are probably insufficient to reach a final solution of the puzzle, but at least it may be said that recent investigation has not weakened the case for St. Luke's accuracy on the whole in his account of the census.

<sup>2</sup> *Loc. cit.* p. 110.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Schmiedel holds that 'even in Luke i., only two verses—vv. 34, 35—contain the idea of the Virgin Birth clearly and effectively,' and that 'the whole of Luke ii. rests upon the opposite presupposition' (*Encycl. Bibl.* iii. 2956). His inference is characteristic of his whole method of criticism; for he proceeds to treat vv. 34, 35 as a later insertion, and not from the hand of the original author! Such methods of reasoning are too subjective to be very effective, when they are addressed to persons who ask for evidence.

<sup>4</sup> *Loc. cit.* p. 127.

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where stress is laid, in a way that would be more natural to a woman than to a man, on the intervals of time between the conception of Elizabeth, the Annunciation, and the birth of John the Baptist. Or, again, in i. 43 the incident recorded is one which would most naturally be dwelt upon and remembered by a woman. 'She was greatly troubled at the saying, and cast in her mind what manner of salutation this might be' (i. 29). It is from the point of view of the Maiden Mother's experience that the story is told throughout. And, more generally, the loving tenderness of the details—'she wrapped Him in swaddling clothes'; she 'kept all these sayings, pondering them in her heart'; 'the child [*i.e.* John the Baptist] grew and waxed strong in spirit'—points, we think, to the same conclusion. As Professor Ramsay has it, 'there is a womanly spirit in the whole narrative which seems inconsistent with the transmission from man to man.'<sup>1</sup>

Dr. Sanday has more than once put forward an hypothesis to account for the way in which the Virgin's narrative came to St. Luke's knowledge. He observes that St. Luke had evidently access to some special source of information about the Court of the Herods, and he notes that 'Joanna, the wife of Chuza, Herod's steward,' is mentioned by him twice (viii. 3, xxiv. 10). She was one of the women who ministered to Christ in Galilee; she was one of those who went to the tomb on the Resurrection morning, and she probably had witnessed the Crucifixion (xxiii. 49). Perhaps, too, she was one of the women in the upper room after the Ascension (Acts i. 14). 'On these last two occasions we also know that the Mother of Jesus was in the company, and we cannot doubt at all that at this period the two women were much thrown together.'<sup>2</sup> And so Dr. Sanday suggests that we have in the person of Joanna the link between the Virgin Mother and St. Luke which will help us to explain the character of his first two chapters. The hypothesis is an interesting one, and is, no doubt, quite possible. But we are not concerned to lay much stress upon it, for St. Luke's information about the Court of the Herods might have come to him in other ways;

<sup>1</sup> *Was Christ Born at Bethlehem?* p. 88.

<sup>2</sup> *Critical Questions*, p. 139; cf. *Book by Book*, p. 399.

for example, through Manaen, Herod's foster-brother, who was a Christian teacher at Antioch (Acts xiii. 1) and associated with St. Paul. We have no direct evidence that St. Luke knew Joanna personally. But as Dr. Sanday's hypothesis calls attention to a *possible* way in which the narrative of the Virgin might have passed to St. Luke, it is worthy of mention, although we do not think that many will be found to build upon it.

We may say, then, summarily, about St. Luke's account of the Nativity, that it is delivered as a record of fact by a careful and reverent writer, and that the internal evidence of its contents goes far to show that, whatever may be its literary 'sources,' it is derived in the ultimate resort from her who best knew its truth.

We now turn to the opening chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel, and here we find the story of the Nativity told from a quite different point of view. In St. Matthew the anxiety of Joseph, as in St. Luke the faith of Mary, is the most conspicuous feature; and the most natural inference is that the report of the first Evangelist is in part based on details supplied by the man to whom the Virgin was betrothed. We cannot speak about this account, perhaps, with the same confidence with which we may speak of St. Luke's. For (1) We do not know the date at which St. Matthew's Gospel assumed its present shape. It is quite possibly the latest of the four Gospels, and in any case is hardly earlier than 90 A.D. (2) We have no other work from the hand of the author, by reference to which we might test his accuracy in his record of events. (3) It may frankly be admitted that *some* details of the Matthaean Gospel, such as the resurrection of the saints after the Crucifixion (xxvii. 52), the commission to St. Peter, 'Upon this Rock I will build my Church' (xvi. 18), the charge to preach to all the world and to baptize in the threefold Name (xxviii. 19), belong to a stratum of evangelical tradition of whose sources we know nothing, and which receives no direct corroboration from the other Gospels. (4) The habit of this Evangelist, of reporting the narrative of the Christ with the words of the Old Testament prophets in his mind, may have led here and there to reconstructions

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and accommodations of details.<sup>1</sup> And thus, as we said, it is difficult to use his narrative with the same degree of confidence which we repose in St. Luke, although it would be going much too far to treat it as untrustworthy in the main. But even allowing for this, two or three things stand out in regard to his story of the Nativity which are noteworthy.

a. It is certain that the writer believed that the birth of Christ was miraculous. It is worth while to say this, because it has been suggested, mainly on the ground of certain diversities of reading in the Sinai Syriac, that the original text of the Gospel represented Joseph as the father of Jesus. It is quite true that in the version referred to phrases occur which would seem to point that way : e.g. i. 16, 'Jacob begat Joseph : Joseph, to whom was betrothed Mary the Virgin, begat Jesus' ; i. 21. 'She shall bear to thee a son' ; i. 25, 'He took his wife, and she bare to him a son, and he called his name Jesus.' And eccentric readings similar to the first of these are found elsewhere, notably in the *Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila*.<sup>2</sup> But, despite these readings, the scribes have left undisturbed other verses which are quite explicit, and it is safe to say that no version of St. Matthew's Gospel is extant in any language which does not tell of the birth of Christ from a virgin. There is no good reason for supposing that the peculiarities of the Sinai Syriac here represent the original text of the Gospel ; and even these do not extend to any assertion of Joseph's parentage, other than is found in a phrase inserted in the genealogy, with what motive we cannot now be sure.

β. The Matthaean account is entirely independent of that by St. Luke, and it thus supplies us, *valeat quantum*, with an additional witness for the principal fact which it records. Now, two convergent traditions, coming from distinct sources, mutually corroborate and sustain each other as to the main facts which they describe. There is no trace

<sup>1</sup> Compare, e.g., Matt. xxi. 2, xxvi. 15, xxvii. 34, with the parallels in the other Gospels.

<sup>2</sup> For the evidence see Rackham in Gore's *Dissertations*, Appended Note B ; and Sanday, s.v. 'Jesus Christ,' in Hastings' *Bible Dictionary* (ii. 644).

in either Gospel that the infancy narrative of the other was known to the writer; the details are quite different in the two cases, although there is no essential incompatibility.<sup>1</sup> And some of the details in St. Matthew are those which Joseph might be expected to supply.

γ. In the third place, however prone the first Evangelist may be to find prophetic fulfilments in historical events, in no case can it be proved that he has invented the event in the interest of the prophecy.<sup>2</sup> The prophecy which he quotes as foretelling the Virgin birth of the Redeemer is, as everyone knows, Isaiah vii. 14: 'Behold, a virgin (עַלְמָה) shall conceive, and bear a son, and shall call His name Emmanuel.' But 'it does not appear that the Hebrew word need necessarily mean more than "young woman"; nor does it appear that there was any Jewish expectation that the Christ should be born of a virgin.'<sup>3</sup> This may be said even more decidedly. 'No trace,' writes Dr. Dalman (and there is no better authority on a point of the kind) 'is to be found among the Jews of any Messianic application of Isaiah's words concerning the Virgin's Son from which by any possibility—as some have maintained—the whole account of the miraculous birth of Jesus could have derived its origin.'<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> We cannot concur in Dr. Lobstein's assertion that 'our two Gospels are not only different, they are contradictory' (*loc. cit.* p. 42). When he proceeds to say that 'it is impossible to reconcile our two traditions without doing violence to the texts, without resorting to arbitrary hypotheses, and without resting content with possibilities which will never amount to historical certainty,' we are not sure that we understand his meaning. If he means that, in the absence of fuller information, we cannot construct a harmony of the two narratives which would be accepted as 'historically certain,' we agree with him. But if he means that the narratives are so contradictory, the one to the other, that they weaken each other's witness to the central fact which they record, then we disagree. In two independent narratives one is prepared for some discrepancy of detail, but this has been seriously exaggerated by Dr. Lobstein in the case before us.

<sup>2</sup> This is well brought out by Bishop Gore, *Dissertations*, p. 33 sqq. see also Knowling, *Our Lord's Virgin Birth*, &c. p. 40.

<sup>3</sup> Gore, *loc. cit.* p. 35.

<sup>4</sup> Dalman, *The Words of Jesus* (Eng. tr.), p. 276. Dr. Knowling (*loc. cit.* p. 37) quotes an apposite sentence from Neander: 'Such a fable as to the birth of the Messiah from a virgin could have arisen anywhere else easier than among the Jews.'

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Whatever we may think of St. Matthew's application of Isaiah's words, it is quite certain that the story of the Virgin birth did not grow out of the prophecy. St. Matthew's commentary presupposes a tradition already well established.

With this view of the relation of the narrative to the prophecy most critics would agree; and it is curious to observe the inference derived from it by Dr. Schmiedel and Dr. Usener, who have contributed so largely to the novel Christology of the *Encyclopædia Biblica*. They rightly recognize that Jewish soil would have been very unfavourable to the genesis of a 'myth' like that of the Virgin Birth, and they rightly condemn the appeal to the language of Philo as futile. Philo speaks, indeed, in certain passages (e.g. *De Cherub.* 13) of the holy women of the olden days, Sarah, Leah, Rebecca, Zipporah, as bearing children which have no mortal father; but this is, as Philo is careful to explain, a mystical account of the fruitfulness of the virtues as due to God alone.<sup>1</sup> It is quite beside the point to quote such passages as if they had any bearing on the Nativity stories of the Gospels; and this is rightly urged by Professor Usener. But the inference which these critics draw is, that as the 'myth' did not originate in Jewish circles, it must have been of Gentile origin. The story is traceable to 'a pagan substratum, and . . . must have arisen in Gentile-Christian circles'<sup>2</sup>; 'here we unquestionably enter the circle of pagan ideas.'<sup>3</sup> And Dr. Usener has collected a mass of parallel narratives, as he conceives them, to the Nativity narratives of the Gospels, with the view of establishing the affinity of the latter to pagan and Gentile thought. He has, however, been sufficiently answered by Dr. Harnack,<sup>4</sup> and his theory need not detain us now. The early date at which the Nativity stories of the Gospels appear, long before Christianity and paganism came into intimate association, the aversion and horror with which the earliest Christian believers regarded paganism and all its doctrines, the intensely Jewish atmosphere of the narratives of St. Matthew and St. Luke—

<sup>1</sup> See Gore, *loc. cit.* p. 61 *sqq.* and Knowling, *loc. cit.* p. 38.

<sup>2</sup> *Encycl. Bibl.* iii. 3352.

<sup>3</sup> *Loc. cit.* 3350.

<sup>4</sup> References to the literature will be found in Lobstein, *loc. cit.* p. 128.

such considerations prevent us from contemplating Dr. Usener's parallels and analogies with any feeling other than that of curiosity. But the extravagance of these speculations is an indication of the difficulty which learned men and acute critics experience when they try to explain the story of the Virgin Birth on any hypothesis other than that of its ultimate truth. We do not always agree with Dr. Lobstein, but his words on this point are not too strong. 'Nothing warrants historical criticism in considering the tradition of the miraculous birth of Christ as merely the outcome of elements foreign to the religion of Biblical revelation.'<sup>1</sup>

Thus the narrative in St. Matthew i., like the narrative in St. Luke, is intended to describe what the writer believed to be a fact of history; it cannot be regarded as developed out of prophecy, and there is no reason for tracing it to pagan beliefs as to the union of gods and men. It seems to be ultimately due, in some form and in some part, at least, to Joseph.

Farther than this we cannot go; but mention may be made of an explanation of the origin of the Matthæan narrative, put forward some years ago by Bishop Gore.

'Supposing Joseph to have been . . . a "just man," and to have died, as appears to have been the case, before the public ministry of our Lord began, it is only natural to suppose that he would have left behind him some document clearing up by his own testimony the circumstances of the birth of Jesus. If the miraculous birth was ever to have been made public, his testimony would have been imperatively needed. This document he must, we should suppose, have given to Mary, to vindicate by means of it, when occasion demanded, her own virginity.'<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Loc. cit.* p. 76. Dr. Lobstein himself attempts to explain the Nativity 'myths' as the fruit of the popular imagination working on the Old Testament stories of the Divine intervention at the births of heroes like Isaac and Samson and Samuel: 'Being greater than those who received the Holy Spirit from their earliest infancy, He was conceived by the Holy Spirit' (p. 71). But he does not explain why or how St. Luke, the careful historian, should have set down as sober history a myth of this sort, nor does he offer any theory to account for its extraordinarily rapid growth.

<sup>2</sup> Gore, *loc. cit.* p. 28.

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And the Bishop suggests that this document was handed on through the Lord's 'brethren,' until at last it came into the hands of the writer of the First Gospel. It is only a suggestion, and it does not seem that Dr. Gore put it forward as anything more; but it is as plausible as any other account that has been offered of the 'sources' of St. Matthew i.

(B) Upon the direct testimony of the rest of the New Testament we shall not delay long. St. Paul *may* have meant to convey his belief in the Lord's Virgin Birth when he spoke of Christ as 'born of the seed of David according to the flesh' (Rom. i. 3), and as 'born of a woman, born under the law' (Gal. iv. 4). But these passages have been appealed to on both sides of the controversy, and they are, in any case, not decisive. St. John *may* imply in the narrative of the miracle at Cana that the Lord's mother was fully conscious of the miraculous personality of her Son<sup>1</sup> (John ii. 3-5); but the exegesis is not certain. We shall return presently to the implications of St. Paul's teaching, but for the moment we are only concerned with direct statements. And so we may quote next the remarkably explicit language of St. Ignatius: 'Hidden from the prince of this world were the virginity of Mary and her child-bearing, and likewise the death of the Lord—three mysteries to be cried aloud, which were wrought in the silence of God.'<sup>2</sup> In this passage the virginity of Mary is as certain a point of doctrine to the

<sup>1</sup> Bishop Gore suggests this (*loc. cit.* p. 9).

<sup>2</sup> *καὶ ἔλαθεν τὸν ἀρχοντα τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου ἡ παρθενία Μαρίας καὶ ὁ τοκετὸς αὐτῆς, ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ θάνατος τοῦ κυρίου* 'τρία μυστήρια κραυγῆς ἀναί ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ θεοῦ ἐπράχθη' (Eph. 19). In the notes to his *Ascension of Isaiah*, Dr. Charles points out that the words in xi. 16, 'This [*i.e.* the virginity of Mary] hath escaped all the heavens, and all the princes, and all the gods of this world,' are probably the source of the above-quoted passage of Ignatius. If he is right in this—and his argument seems sound—we shall have outside the canon an earlier witness than Ignatius to the doctrine of the Virgin Birth. In any case, it is important to notice that the way in which Ignatius speaks of it shows that it was a received opinion in his time (A.D. 110). This passage is extant not only in the Greek but also in the shorter Syriac recension of the Ignatian letters; so that the genuineness of the Greek Epistles need not be assumed for the purposes of this article, although it has, in our judgment, been amply established by Bishop Lightfoot.

writer as is the Crucifixion. Again, in his letter to the Smyrnæans, Ignatius says that he is 'firmly persuaded as touching our Lord that He is truly of the race of David according to the flesh, but Son of God by [the Divine] will and power, truly born of a virgin . . . truly nailed up for our sakes in the flesh.'<sup>1</sup> It is unnecessary to give quotations from the later Fathers.<sup>2</sup> Those from Ignatius are of special importance because of their early date, and because of the Churches addressed. The Christianity of Ephesus owed much both to St. Paul and to St. John, and it is incredible that the Virgin Birth should have been a received dogma in that city so early as the year 110 if it had not been congruous with the well-remembered teaching of these great Apostles.

Such is the direct evidence to the fact of the Virgin Birth which lies behind the Creed. Is it sufficient to determine belief? That is the question with which the Church is confronted, and to which such discordant answers are being given. Before we attempt to answer it we desire to put a wider question. What amount of evidence would be regarded in our own day as sufficient to substantiate a statement of the sort? We have seen that ultimately the narratives go back to the two persons most immediately concerned—the only two persons, indeed, who could assert of their own knowledge that the Lord was born of a virgin Mother; and we have seen that this was a received opinion in the Church in the opening years of the second century. Yet—

<sup>1</sup> *Smyrn. 1*, ἀληθῶς ὄντα ἐκ γένους Δαυὶδ κατὰ σάρκα, υἱὸν θεοῦ κατὰ θέλημα καὶ δύναμιν, γεγεννημένον ἀληθῶς ἐκ παρθένου. It is curious that Dr. Lobstein regards St. Paul's words, 'born of the seed of David according to the flesh' (Rom. i. 3), as tending 'rather to exclude than to imply the idea of the miraculous birth,' and as 'singularly inappropriate if Jesus had not come into the world in the ordinary way' (*loc. cit.* p. 52). Dr. Schmiedel takes the same view. St. Ignatius, at all events, would not have agreed with them, as the words of the above citation show, for he treats as parallel and co-ordinate phrases 'being of the race of David according to the flesh' and 'born of a virgin.'

<sup>2</sup> They are conveniently arranged in Dr. Randolph's little book, *The Virgin Birth of Our Lord*, which closely follows in its argument the lines of Bishop Gore's *Dissertations*.

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the writer has heard it urged—if in our own day the holiest and best of women were to assert that her first-born son came into the world while she was yet a maiden, her words, even though corroborated by the emphatic and positive testimony of him who called her wife, would not be believed. She might not be harshly judged; her story might be received with respectful attention, but it would not be credited. And, therefore, it is asked, What becomes of your appeal to the infancy narratives of St. Matthew and St. Luke, accepted though they were by the untutored and devout minds of the first century, and what profit is there in pointing out that they are ultimately derived in all probability from St. Joseph and St. Mary respectively? <sup>1</sup>

The answer, when the question is thus stated, goes to the root of the matter. The measure of our credence to testimony of this kind must necessarily depend on the estimate we have formed of the Child alleged to be miraculously born. No instructed Christian claims that such testimony as that of the infancy narratives would be sufficient to compel belief if there were nothing exceptional in the character and the history of the wondrous Child. But we read these narratives in the light of the Personality of Jesus Christ, as indicated and revealed in His words, His deeds, His Resurrection from the dead; and we then perceive that they assume a significance which would not otherwise appear. 'What must finally turn the scale,' writes Dr. Lobstein—'I mean determine belief and carry conviction—are reasons of a dogmatic and religious order, which find their high authority in our Gospels, and, in turn, give them their complete and final justification.'<sup>2</sup> This is not to say that our acceptance of the Virgin Birth of Christ

<sup>1</sup> Theological controversy repeats itself, and the reader will remember that this is almost a reproduction of Hume's argument against the evidence for our Lord's Resurrection. He propounded the thesis that it would always remain more likely that the miracle should be false than that the testimony, whatever its amount, should be true. And although Paley is not in favour just now, his reply is exactly to the point. The evidence must be read in the light of what we know independently about the character of God and the Person of Christ. See Hastings' *Bible Dictionary*, s.v. 'Miracle,' iii. 386.

<sup>2</sup> *Loc. cit.* p. 79.

is governed entirely by our *a priori* conviction of its congruity with what we know of Him, but that the evidence for it—good and cogent so far as it goes—receives powerful and necessary reinforcement from all that we have received from the Bible and the Church as to His Incarnation and Resurrection, which mark Him off as unique in the history of mankind.

(1) And, first, as to His Resurrection. We are taking for granted that He really rose from the dead, and that He was thus 'declared to be the Son of God with power.' One must begin somewhere in an argument of this kind, and so we do not stay to rehearse the reasons which justify us in regarding the Resurrection as a certain fact of history, and not only as a beautiful and inspiring idea. That 'Jesus *lives*' is, indeed, from one point of view the central presupposition of Christian faith; but that 'Jesus *rose*' is the fact which enabled men to believe it. And what a fact it is, viewed only (as we say) from the physical side! The forces of bodily dissolution were arrested in their course, and proved to be subject to a higher law, to the unique and overmastering Personality of Him who had died! Is it natural to think that the Body which could thus respond to the Divine Will was begotten of mortal seed? 'It was not *possible*,' said St. Peter, 'that He should be holden of death.'<sup>1</sup> And if not possible, is it unreasonable for us to be ready to accept the explanation, offered by the only two persons who could offer it, that the human body of Jesus carried from the moment of conception in the womb the seed of immortality?<sup>2</sup> The Resurrection of Christ may not *prove*, as we understand proof, His birth from a virgin; but the Resurrection and the Virgin Birth are, we think, easier to believe when taken conjointly than when either is separated from the other. There is a propriety of correspondence between the manner of His entrance into this earthly life and the fact of His superiority to death, which appeals to our sense of congruity.

(2) And, again, it is a fundamental principle of the

<sup>1</sup> Acts ii. 24.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Augustine: '... cum dicitur Verbum Dei, per quod omnia facta sunt, sic assumpsisse corpus ex virgine ... ut immortalitatem suam non corruperit, ut aeternitatem non mutaverit' (Ep. cxxxvii. ad Volusianum, § 6).

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Christian faith that Christ was morally *sinless*. Whatever else may be discarded, this remains essential to the Creed. It is quite true that the words of Scripture<sup>1</sup> do not suggest any connexion between the sinlessness of Christ and His miraculous birth. And it is, of course, not *de fide* to assert the connexion. Yet there is nothing in Scripture to the contrary; and it is worthy of consideration whether the connexion be not intimate and real. Certainly, the more deeply the teachings of biological science are studied, the more difficult is it to believe that any being, born of human parents under the ordinary conditions of natural generation, could be free from the *damnosa hereditas* of the weaknesses and faults of his ancestry. Not the theologian only, but the physician also, will tell us that a sinless man would be a physical miracle, no less than a moral miracle,<sup>2</sup> and that the two cannot be dissociated, so close and intimate in human experience is the connexion between mind and body. This is not to suggest that there is anything essentially sinful in the normal antecedents of human birth, in the natural processes of generation by which the race is continued. That is a Manichæan idea, and one which needs to be repudiated by the Church as much now as at any other period in history. Nor need we enter here into the intricacies of the doctrine of original sin, true and important as that doctrine is; nor need we stay to examine the sources of the story of the Fall. What is urged here is the simple principle that 'of natural generation we have positive knowledge, based on universal experience, that it does, as a fact, issue in a sinful person.'<sup>3</sup> If a sinless man was ever born, experience and science would alike suggest to us that there must have been something entirely exceptional in the circumstances of His conception in the womb. And the allegation that Christ was born of a

<sup>1</sup> With the possible exception of St. Luke i. 35.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Beeby's view is that our Lord was neither the one nor the other. He was 'an organism in nature, subject to *all* the ordinary limitations of human nature' (*loc. cit.*, p. 133). That is a view quite consistent with itself, but it is not consistent with the view of Christ as Redeemer (and not only as example) which is put forward in the New Testament and in the Creeds.

<sup>3</sup> Illingworth, *Divine Immanence*, p. 95.

virgin Mother supplies us with the exceptional antecedent of His sinless life of which we are in search.

To this line of reasoning the reply is sometimes offered that, after all, the taint of ancestry is conveyed through the mother to her child no less than through the father, and that if we are to press the argument to its logical conclusion, we are led to the Roman doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of Blessed Mary; and not only thus far, for to secure an untainted offspring we must 'go back along the line of ancestry until we arrive at Eve herself, and postulate an uninterrupted chain of miracles appointed to preserve from spot of sin that progeny which, extending over centuries, was finally to lead up to Mary and Jesus.'<sup>1</sup> This would be a *reductio ad absurdum* of the principle under consideration, but it is not really involved in our position. For all that we have asserted is that a sinless man must have been altogether exceptional in his physical origin, and that, therefore, the normal conditions of birth are insufficient to account for him. Birth from a virgin, which is alleged of Christ, is a phenomenon altogether outside our observation, and we are not really competent to say how far the ordinary laws of inheritance from the mother's side would obtain in such a case. And, moreover, it must not be forgotten that Christ was, in our view, 'conceived by the Holy Ghost' as well as 'born of the Virgin Mary.' The Virgin birth presupposes not only the absence of human fatherhood, but the presence and the power of the Divine Spirit. And 'if there was a Divine agency at work, however mysterious, we may be sure that it would at least refine all it touched. . . . Can we think of evil as living in contact with it—in contact of which we are meant to think as the closest and most organic that the mind can conceive?'<sup>2</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> Lobstein, *loc. cit.* p. 86.

<sup>2</sup> *Critical Questions*, pp. 153, 154. Further than this we can hardly penetrate, and stress ought not to be laid on arguments such as the following, recently revived by Father Benson: 'Jesus was formed of the substance of the Virgin Mary by the power of the Holy Ghost without the exercise of any maternal function upon her part, as corresponding with the Divine Will. She was simply passive, and brought

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operation of the Divine factor may well be believed to have purified the human factor which was associated with it.

Perhaps it might be argued on the other side that this last consideration (put forward by Dr. Sanday) helps to obviate the moral necessity for Christ's birth from a Virgin. If the Divine Spirit, which was abundantly poured out upon Jesus, be thus a force of purification, may we not suppose that the inherited tendency to evil would be frustrated and removed by the Spirit's influence, even although Jesus were born of human parents in the normal way? This was Schleiermacher's suggestion. He supposed that 'all the natural conditions necessary to an ordinary human birth must have been present in the case of Christ's birth, but that to these there was added an absolutely creative act, which did away with the traducian sinful influence.'<sup>1</sup> We need not stay to point out that such an hypothesis provides no relief to a faith that is distressed by the assertion of miracle. Schleiermacher's 'absolutely creative act' is quite as abnormal and miraculous as Birth from a Virgin; and it provides an

forth her child *illaesa virginitate*. As there could be no true natural relationship between the *finite* person of the Mother and the *Infinite* Person who took of her substance, so there could be no natural process of formation by which the Child was formed in that mother's womb.' (*The Virgin Birth*, &c., p. 33). And, again, 'The Godhead did not simply pass through the nature of Mary as water flowing through a tube, which was the simile invented by some Gnostic heretics, but the body of Mary was as lifeless in respect to God and as unmoved in the act of generation as the tube itself.' We cannot but think that this language (although it may perhaps shelter itself behind the speculations of mediæval theology) goes perilously near to denying the true humanity of our Lord, and we find it difficult to distinguish from Gnosticism. It would indeed seem to be open to some of the objections urged on this score by Mr. Beeby (*l.c.* p. 135) to the doctrine of the Virgin Birth. We prefer to adopt the cautious language of Pearson, that great master of theology: 'If she [*i.e.* B.V.M.] were truly the Mother of Christ, then is there no reason to deny to her in respect of Him whatsoever is given to other mothers in relation to the fruit of their womb, and consequently no more is left to be attributed to the Spirit than what is necessary to cause the Virgin to perform the actions of a mother' (*On the Creed*, III. ii. 5). Father Benson's paper has disappointed us at other points in its failure to distinguish the *fact* of the Incarnation from its *mode*.

<sup>1</sup> Martensen, *Christian Dogmatics* (Engl. Tr. p. 276).

exceptional antecedent to the sinless life of Christ such as reason desiderates. All that we maintain is that such an exceptional antecedent must be presupposed, if Christ be sinless; and that the assertion of His Conception by the Holy Spirit supplies what reason demands. We could not prove *a priori* that this exceptional antecedent might not have been provided in some other way, nor are we concerned to do so.

(3) Once more: we must read the story of the Virgin Birth in the light of the Resurrection, and in the light of the fact that the Child born of Mary was sinless. We must also read it in the light of the Incarnation, as presented both by St. John and St. Paul.

To St. John Christ was the Eternal Word 'made flesh' for man's sake. 'I am not of this world' (John viii. 23) is a keynote of his Christological doctrine. The Personality of Jesus was not human—it was the Divine Personality itself which had assumed human nature. And this doctrine of the Incarnation is at the heart of the most sacred and influential beliefs which sway Christendom to-day. Now, we do not attempt to *prove* that the Incarnation involves a virgin birth. St. John never attempts such proof. Probably *a priori* proofs on high subjects of this sort are beyond our capacity. But it may at least be said that it would be extremely difficult to believe, of a being born in the normal way of human parents, that his personality was not essentially and fundamentally human, however abundantly the Divine Spirit might be poured out upon him. And such a being would not be the Incarnate Christ of St. John, on whom the Church has set her hopes. There have been in Christian history believers in the Virgin Birth who did not believe in the Catholic doctrine of the Incarnation, as, *e.g.*, the early Socinians; but there is no instance, we believe, in the history of the past of any who held the full doctrine of the Incarnation, as it is expressed in the Nicene Creed, who did not also accept the Virgin Birth. 'God of God' is a formula difficult to grasp, if on analysis we find that 'of God' does not exclude human fatherhood. There is a congruity between the words 'of one substance with the Father' and 'born of the Virgin Mary' which it

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St. Paul's representation of the Christ is quite differently conceived from that of St. John, and yet his Christology suggests the same inference. Not only does he speak of the pre-existence of Christ in explicit terms (Phil. ii. 6), a belief which is incompatible with the view that His Personality came into being as all finite personalities do, but he builds a majestic and stately argument on his conception of Christ as the Second Adam, to which our attention cannot be too often directed. 'The first man is of the earth, earthy; the second man is of heaven' (1 Cor. xv. 47). As the first man marks a critical point in the development of the race, so too does the Second Man. Each is an unveiling of the Divine purpose—a new beginning. To the thought of St. Paul, Adam does not more clearly stand for a fresh departure in the scheme of creation than does Christ. Christ is not the 'natural' outcome of His nation and country; He is not the mere product of evolution—He represents an interruption of the continuity of the human race. Not *a* man, but *the* Man, representative of humanity at its best, as Adam was representative of humanity at its worst; not one man in the race, but 'the new Man—the Son of Man, in whom the race is gathered up.'<sup>1</sup> This is St. Paul's teaching about Christ, and once again we should find it very difficult to retain it as true if we were obliged to believe that Christ was born of human parents, exactly as every other man has been born. St. Paul never thinks of *proving* the doctrine of the Virgin Birth; he is not concerned with it immediately—we are not even prepared to assert that it was to him a formulated dogma. We think that it is most natural to suppose that he was aware of the fact; but we bring forward his Christology now for the purpose of showing that, in any case, it is not only entirely consonant with the belief that Christ had no human father, but that it would be difficult to reconcile logically with the opposite opinion.

We believe, then, that the doctrine of the Incarnation as stated by St. Paul and St. John prepares us to read the

<sup>1</sup> See a letter in the *Life of Bishop Westcott*, ii. 308.

evidence for the Virgin Birth with a new and anxious interest. For it would be harder, not easier, to accept the Incarnation, could we not show cause for believing that the entrance of the Incarnate into the world was unlike a common human birth. At this point the infancy narratives of the Evangelists supply us with positive information which to all appearance comes from the most authoritative sources. It was not only because the Church was convinced of the *a priori* probability of this miracle and its congruity with the doctrine of the Incarnation, but because she was able to appeal to the plain record of the Gospels, that the article of the Virgin Birth received a place in the formal Creeds of the second century, a place which it has ever since maintained.<sup>1</sup>

And yet it is sometimes urged, because the article is not insisted upon in the early sermons of the Apostles, and because it is not formulated in the Pauline letters of advice to the Christian communities, that therefore it may now be discarded from the Creed. Such a line of argument seems to betray a curious lack of perception of the wide difference between popular teaching and theological dogma. A Creed is not the same thing as a sermon, and the practical needs of the Christian life may be satisfied while the intellectual coherence of doctrine is but imperfectly understood.<sup>2</sup> We do not doubt that many a good Christian man has lived and died without definitely formulating to himself the relations of the simple articles of his belief, and without any clear apprehension of their theological implications. He has not found it necessary to think about the article of the Virgin Birth. He is able to say, with joyful assurance, 'Jesus is Lord,' and that is enough for him. But when the Church

<sup>1</sup> The *Apology* of Aristides was written about 130 A.D., and in it he speaks of the birth of Christ from a virgin in a way which suggests that this was an article in the Creed with which he was familiar (see *Cambridge Texts and Studies*, I, i. pp. 6, 25). And recent investigations of the origin of the Apostles' Creed lead to the conclusion that its earliest form, in which this article had already a place, is not later than 140 A.D. Kattenbusch would place it as far back as 100 A.D.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Lobstein forgets this when he asks, 'If the Virgin birth forms no part of the essential truths preached by the Apostles, is it not clear that the dogma is thereby singularly compromised?' (*loc. cit.* p. 24).

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proceeds to formulate her theology, she has to consider logic as well as life, and she has to take account of the interdependence of this doctrine and of that. For, in the end, a Creed which is not intellectually coherent and self-consistent will not serve the needs of practical life, however possible it may be for individuals temporarily to ignore certain aspects of the truth.

Considerations of this character help us to resolve the problem which is suggested by the silence of the earliest Christian preachers on the subject of Christ's Virgin Birth. Before this came into view Christ must have been accepted for what He was, the sinless, risen, incarnate Son of God. And to proclaim Him in these aspects was the primary object of their endeavour, as they are still the primary topics of the preaching of a Christian missionary. It is even probable that in the early days of Apostolic preaching the secret of the Virgin birth had not been divulged by the Virgin Mother. It was a secret which she would naturally and for obvious reasons guard with the most jealous reserve until it had become recognized among the circle of her friends and associates that her Son was indeed God incarnate in human flesh. Not until that was believed would her wonderful experience be credited even by those who honoured her most. And there is no proof forthcoming that in the days of the Lord's public ministry He was regarded by those who followed Him as other than the son of the carpenter; nor could the contrary be asserted with confidence by a Christian teacher—still less could it be formulated in a Creed—until the positive testimony of His Mother had been made public and accepted as true by the primitive Christian society.

We are now invited by some to return to this early, indefinite, incoherent position as to the fatherhood of Jesus. We are assured that we shall thus get nearer to primitive Christianity, and that we shall thus remove a stumbling-block from the path of those who would follow Christ. But does anyone really wish that the Christian Church should return to that imperfect apprehension of Jesus which was all that the Apostles reached while He was with them in the

flesh?<sup>1</sup> That is the most primitive form of Christianity which we know, and it is far better so to follow Christ, even though we cannot answer the question 'Whose Son is He?' than not to follow Him at all. It is not profitable to argue whether or no we should deny the title 'Christian' to one who regards Jesus as many in Galilee, who hung upon His words and profited by His example, must have done. But to suggest that this first stage in Christian knowledge is the goal of the Christian intelligence, and that the Church would do well to cast to the winds her formulated Christology, to abandon all profession of belief in God incarnate, Virgin-born, risen, ascended, would be disloyal—there is no other word for it—to the Spirit which was to guide her into all the truth. If the article of the Virgin Birth is to be removed from the Creed, it must be for some better reason than that it was not preferred to the Resurrection and the Atonement in Apostolic preaching, or that it was not known to the little company in the upper room before (in all probability) it had been told publicly by her who alone could tell it, and before the Holy Spirit had descended upon the Church.

The practical issue is this. Although the article of the faith which we have been considering may seem to occupy small space in the New Testament, its significance becomes the greater, the more it is pondered. It is congruous to the Incarnation, although the distinction between the Incarnation itself and the manner in which it pleased God to become incarnate must be maintained,

<sup>1</sup> Coleridge seems to have been of this opinion: 'Were it asked of me, Do you, then, believe our Lord to have been the Son of Mary by Joseph? I reply, It is a point of religion with me to have no belief one way or other. I am in this way like St. Paul, more than content not to know Christ *κατὰ σάρκα*.' He had said just before: 'In my deliberate judgment the *Christopaedia* prefixed to the Third Gospel and concorporated with the First . . . was unknown to, or not recognized by, the Apostles Paul and John; and instead of supporting the doctrine of the Trinity and the Filial Godhead of the Incarnate Word, . . . it . . . doth greatly weaken and bedim its evidences' (*Notes on Donne*, Sermon II.). So he speaks elsewhere of 'My belief that the (so-called) Ebionites of the first and second centuries, who rejected the *Christopaedia*, and whose Gospel commenced with the baptism by John, were orthodox apostolic Christians' (*On Waterland*, p. 286).

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not only as a point of theological propriety, but because the Bible and the Church alike teach us to place the emphasis on the former rather than on the latter. We could not, indeed, go as far as Dr. Sanday seems to think desirable. He says: 'If anyone who still does not see his way to accept the story [of the Virgin Birth] as it is told falls back in self-defence upon that providential ordering by which this particular article of the Creed was, as it were, held in reserve, and not included in the public teaching either of our Lord Himself or (for some time, we may believe) of the Apostles, *I for one would acknowledge his right to do so.*'<sup>1</sup> To say this is to acknowledge the 'right' of an individual member of the Church—no distinction is drawn between a priest and a layman—to repudiate part of his baptismal vow, and to reconstruct the Creed to suit his individual predilection. It is surely one thing to refrain from placing the doctrine of the Virgin Birth on a level with the Incarnation and Resurrection, and quite another thing to admit that anyone has a 'right' to discard it from his creed. No priest would be justified in baptizing a man who would not confess the Creed in its entirety; so much is clear. Why, then, should a priest be justified in acknowledging the 'right' of the same man to repudiate part of the Creed, after he has been baptized? To admit that different parts of the Creed may be held by individuals with different degrees of certainty would be a more intelligible ground to take, and concessions of this sort are probably made every day. But whatever relief may be afforded to perplexed consciences by such a consideration, it must be strenuously maintained that no individual has any 'right' to membership of the Christian Church on other terms than those which the Church herself has laid down.

It has been suggested more than once that the Church of England would do well to make it known that belief in the article of the Virgin Birth is not essential for a candidate for Holy Orders. And reports are current as to the complaisance of great bishops in the past in regard to this matter. But it is seemingly forgotten that the Church of England could not, of her own sole authority, take a step in this direction

<sup>1</sup> *Loc. cit.* p. 145; the italics are ours.

without cutting herself off from the rest of Christendom. She has, as a national Church, no more 'right' to repudiate an article of the Catholic Creed than has any of her members. The Creed is part of her Catholic inheritance, which it is her sacred duty to preserve and to maintain in its integrity. Should she, indeed, at any time find it impossible with the increase of knowledge to recommend any particular article of her Creed to the intelligence of her children, she would be placed in a sore perplexity, a perplexity of a kind which she has never yet experienced. But it is not too much to say that the situation with which she is now confronted in regard to the article of the Virgin Birth is a quite different one. That article has not been proved impossible, nor is such a thesis put forward even by those who desire most earnestly that it should not be pressed upon individual consciences. Those who deny the miraculous cannot accept it, indeed, and they never could. But that is no new thing. Nor would it be true to say that the progress of biological science has made it more difficult to accept. Nor is it seemingly less congruous than of old with the rest of the Christian revelation. The analytical criticism of the Gospels has, indeed, led to conclusions which prohibit appeals to the verbal inspiration of every phrase as decisive of theological controversies; but it would be going a great deal too far to assert that the Nativity narratives have been proved to be untrustworthy. On the contrary, analysis has revealed to us much of their significance which was ill understood in former generations. And in these circumstances, hasty action or hasty speech is very much to be deprecated. The Church will still, as of old, guard this article of her Creed; not only because in the absence of demonstration of its impossibility she refuses to abandon a doctrine committed to her keeping, but because the narratives of the Evangelists are documents which must still be reckoned with, and above all because a closer study of the meaning of the article but brings into clearer view its intellectual coherence with the central doctrine of Christianity, the Incarnation of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

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## SHORT NOTICES.

## I. OLD TESTAMENT.

*The Book of Psalms.* Translated from a revised text, with Notes and Introductions in place of a second edition of an earlier work (1888) by the same author. By T. K. CHEYNE, D.Litt., D.D., Oriel Professor of the Interpretation of Holy Scripture in the University of Oxford, and Canon of Rochester. Price 32s. net. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., Ltd., 1904.)

A WORK which, though the author fails to convince us of the truth of his main theory, is one of surprising brilliancy and power. Jerahmeel, in the existing text of the Old Testament, is mentioned twice (1 Sam. xxvii. 10, xxx. 29), as the name of a clan settled in the South of Judah, which in the time of David appears to have been distinct from the tribe of Judah itself, though afterwards it came to be treated as belonging to it, and was affiliated to it by a genealogy (1 Chron. ii. 9, 25-32). This apparently not very important local clan assumes, however, in Professor Cheyne's hands extraordinary prominence and importance. In conjunction with certain neighbouring tribes of North Arabia, it played a most influential part in the history of Israel. It was for (seemingly) several centuries one of Israel's most determined foes; and references to it, or its neighbours, were at one time abundant in almost every book of the Old Testament. Parts of the population of both Israel and Judah suffered more than once deportation into different districts of North Arabia; the temple of Jerusalem was 'once at least, and probably more than once,' destroyed by North Arabian foes; at Beth-ishmael, or Beth-jerahmeel (an important place in the 'Negeb,' or 'South' of Judah, where David and Solomon had dwelt, and the seat of a cultus strongly discountenanced by Jeremiah), there was a temple which was restored by Josiah, and which, though it was viewed with disfavour by some prophets, was supported by others, and became a centre of really spiritual life to many Israelites.

It is true, nothing of all this is to be read in the Old Testament as we have it: it has by a most unfortunate combination of circumstances, due partly to accidental corruption of the text in the process of transmission, partly to the incredibly wilful alterations of editors, been entirely obliterated; but it has been recovered by the new methods of textual criticism introduced by Professor Cheyne: large portions of the Old Testament appear, consequently, in a completely new light, and much of the history has to be wholly re-written. In numerous articles of the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, and in

the five parts of *Critica Biblica* published in 1903 and 1904, and dealing with the historical books from Joshua to Kings and with the Prophets, Dr. Cheyne has maintained that in an immense number of passages of the Old Testament, especially (but by no means exclusively) those in which proper names are concerned, the text is corrupt, and the name of Jerahmeel, or of one of the neighbouring tribes of Mišsur (or the Mišrites), Zarephath (generally supposed to have been near Sidon, but placed by Professor Cheyne in the South of Judah), Geshur, Arab, Ishmael, Rehoboth (Gen. xxvi. 22), &c., must be restored. And so, when this process has been carried through, we find, in addition to the particulars imperfectly summarized above, that the sufferings and oppressions of the Jews exiled in Jerahmeel are frequently alluded to in the Old Testament: the temple singers, and even, probably, the psalmists themselves, were of Jerahmeelite origin; and the Psalter itself, in its original form, was essentially an expression of the strong feelings aroused among the pious Israelites by North Arabian tyranny and heathenism, Psalm after Psalm, for instance, expressing bitter complaints respecting the oppressions of the Jerahmeelites, and containing either prayers for deliverance from them or confident anticipations of their overthrow.

One or two quotations will, perhaps, be the best means of giving the reader an idea of what Professor Cheyne regards as the original form of the Psalms. Psalm ii. 1-3, for instance, becomes:

'Why do the nations conspire,  
The peoples meditate treason?  
The Jerahmeelites take up their station,  
The Mišrites range themselves in order,  
Against Yahwè, against his loyal one;—  
"Let us break down their sanctuaries,  
Let us destroy their palaces;"

and vv. 9, 10 ('Thou shalt break them with a rod of iron,' &c.):

'Thou shalt subvert Zarephath and Geshur,  
Thou shalt beat down Jerahmeel and Mišsur.  
O ye Jerahmeelites, show prudence;  
Take warning, ye men of Zarephath.'

The references to Jerahmeel, &c., it is stated, are to be explained by 2 Kings xxiv. 2, where the same or neighbouring tribes are introduced, by textual correction, in place of those actually mentioned.

Psalm iii. 7:

'Thou hast smitten all Arabia and Jerahmeel,  
The Cushites [and] Geshurites thou hast scattered.'

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The historical note in the title of this Psalm is supposed to have originally read, 'At the approach of the sons of Arabia and the sons of Ishmael.'

Most of the other Psalms contain similar alterations, designed to introduce references to the relations supposed to have subsisted between Jerahmeel or its neighbours and Israel. Even Ps. cxxxvii. 1 becomes 'On the heritage of Jerahmeel we wept, remembering Zion.' And in the titles of the Psalms, if we read Professor Cheyne rightly, 'David' is everywhere a corruption of 'Arab-ethan' (p. xliii), and 'The Chief Musician' (מנצח) of 'Jerahmeel-asshur' (pp. xlvi, lxxiv); while 'Selah' (סלה) was originally (p. xlviii) either 'God' (אלהים) or 'Jerahmeel.'

Of this whole Jerahmeelite theory we can only say frankly that we cannot accept a word. We can find nowhere the smallest justification or support for it. We do not know of a single passage—except, indeed, in the genealogies, 1 Sam. i. 1, 1 Chron. vi. 27, 34, where 'Jerahmeel' for 'Jeroham' has the support of the Septuagint—in which there are any grounds whatever for supposing that the present text is a corruption of 'Jerahmeel.' We allow, of course, that there are many passages—and, indeed, very probably more than commentators have generally supposed—in which the existing Hebrew text is corrupt; but even in these we cannot see that Jerahmeel or its congeners is a probable restoration of it: the *ductus litterarum* seems to us to be often very dissimilar; and the idea that *one and the same word* should have suffered, whether, as is supposed in some cases, repeatedly the same corruption, or, as is thought in others, many very different corruptions, appears to us to have such an enormous number of probabilities against it as to be simply incredible. There are also many passages among those emended by Professor Cheyne in which the existing text seems to us to be perfectly clear and satisfactory; and to alter such by critical conjecture we cannot but regard as a wholly illegitimate procedure. The entire theory is an imaginative construction, architectonic indeed in its conception, but destitute of the very slenderest foundation in actual fact. Apart, moreover, from these objections, the extent of textual corruption which Professor Cheyne's theory postulates in the Old Testament seems to us to be wholly unreasonable and improbable. And the scribes and editors, whose services also are not unfrequently invoked to account for (presumed) alterations of the text, appear to us to be purely arbitrary creations; they are demanded solely by the theory (which has itself no objective basis); they are not, like the J, E, P, &c., of ordinary critics, required by the actual literary phenomena of the Old Testament itself. We do not think

that we are doing more than expressing the general feeling of scholars when we say that in his entire Jerahmeelite theory Professor Cheyne has entered upon a line along which none of his fellow-workers, however highly they may esteem his ability and fine scholarship, and however fully they may sympathize with him in his general critical position, are able to follow him. No one has expressed this with more just appreciation of Professor Cheyne's real and unquestioned merits than Professor Peake, in a notice of the same theory as it appeared in the pages of the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, whose words we venture to quote :

'One who has followed his work closely in earlier years with warm admiration for his deep learning, his fertility and suggestiveness, his penetrating and sympathetic exegesis, his brilliance and insight, and who is conscious of owing him much for all he has learnt from him, can express dissent from him only with real distress.'<sup>1</sup>

Foreign scholars have, we believe, expressed themselves in similar terms. We cannot but agree with them. We are as conscious as any of Professor Cheyne's great gifts, and of the value of his labours in the cause of Biblical scholarship ; but we cannot follow him in his Jerahmeelite theory, or in the developments which in his present work he has associated with it.

Let us now turn to those parts of Professor Cheyne's volumes—and they are very considerable parts—which are independent of the Jerahmeelite theory. Here there is undoubtedly much that is extremely valuable, though, unfortunately, it is intermixed with a great deal that is very questionable and arbitrary, and the task of separation is sometimes tedious. A large number of emendations are proposed, some based upon the ancient versions, others conjectural—in both cases many being such as have been already approved by other scholars or accepted by Professor Cheyne himself in previous publications, while others are put forward now for the first time. As we have remarked above, we do not doubt that there are many corrupt passages in the text of the Psalms, including some in which, though conventional renderings have come to be accepted by commentators, it is more than doubtful whether the Hebrew is really correct ; nor do we question that among the numerous corrections, old and new, adopted in his present volumes by Professor Cheyne there are some which may be safely accepted as representing the original text, and many others which have a high probability in their favour. In the space at our disposal it is, unfortunately, impossible to consider individual cases. But we

<sup>1</sup> *Hibbert Journal*, Oct. 1902, p. 156.

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cannot, any more than in the passages connected with the Jerahmeelite theory, go nearly as far as Professor Cheyne does in assuming corruption of the text. It seems to us, again and again, that his grounds are hypercritical, that he questions the integrity of the text in many passages in which there is really no reasonable ground for suspecting it, and that he claims far too confidently to know exactly what an ancient poet *must* have said under particular circumstances or in a particular context. In addition to these objections, the course of transcriptional corruption which his corrections postulate appears to us to be often extremely improbable: to say nothing of the improbability itself, if the *ductus litterarum* has been changed so completely as is frequently supposed by Professor Cheyne, what guarantee have we that *his* restoration is the true one? May it not have been something completely different? Professor Cheyne is also often guided in his restorations by the theory that the Psalmists wrote in metre—not, indeed, a syllabic metre, but a rhythmical one; but, though he refers to the subject briefly (p. lxvii), he does not state his views with any fulness; and we cannot but think that before using metre as a means for recovering the original text of the Psalms, he should have adduced sufficient reasons to satisfy his readers that Hebrew poets did really write in metre. Nevertheless, we readily own, in spite of these criticisms, that all this part of Professor Cheyne's work shows great freshness and originality, that there are cases in which his criticisms of the received text are certainly well-founded, and that his emendations, where they are not too violent or arbitrary, well deserve the serious and patient consideration of any future commentator upon the Psalms. But the present commentary is not one which can be read with any profit, except by specialists. It ought only to be added, for the purpose of precluding possible misconception, that though in both textual and historical criticism, Professor Cheyne proceeds radically, his volumes are written in a perfectly reverent tone; and that in many of the more general notes the religious feeling that we should expect from him finds clear and full expression.

We wish sincerely that it had been possible to recommend these volumes more unreservedly. Throughout the whole of them it is impossible not to admire the high ideal which Professor Cheyne has set himself, and the unwearied self-devotion with which he has exerted himself to realize it. Every page testifies to the thought, and acumen, and industry which he has spent upon his work. His acquaintance with previous translators and commentaries, his knowledge of the text of the Old Testament itself, of the questions which it raises and of the many emendations which have been proposed

by different scholars, and the fund of illustrations and parallels which are ever at his disposal, are all equally astonishing. Be his methods right or wrong, his work has been evidently throughout a labour of love, prompted by the most single-minded motives, and he has set an example of high scholarly endeavour, of which Englishmen ought to be justly proud. It is strange that with his many and rare intellectual gifts Professor Cheyne should seem to lack the power of self-criticism, and to be incapable of perceiving an improbability which is patent to everyone besides. But English scholars must not forget that they have much to be grateful to him for, and that there are few students writing upon the Old Testament who have produced anything like the same amount of really valuable work upon it.

The present work (in spite of its title) does *not* supersede the very useful and convenient edition of the Psalms published by Professor Cheyne in 1888, and we hope (if that should be out of print) that, at least for the sake of his weaker brethren who are unable to climb to the same heights which he can scale himself, he will consent to republish it, with only such minor improvements in detail as may not affect its general character.

*The Psalms of Israel.* Being a Course of Lectures delivered in St. Patrick's Cathedral, 1903. By the BISHOP OF DERRY, the DEAN OF ST. PATRICK'S, and others. Price 3s. 6d. net. (London: S. C. Brown, Langham and Co., 1904.)

A COURSE of nine lectures, popular in character, and designed, as the Prefatory Note states, to promote a more intelligent use of the Psalter on the part of those who have not the time or opportunity for independent study. The lectures deal partly with the history and theology of the Psalter, partly with its use in the Christian Church. The subjects are: (i.) The Psalter in the Temple Worship (Dr. Lawlor); (ii.) The Growth of the Psalter (Canon Kennedy); (iii.) The Eschatology of the Psalms (Prebendary Pooler); (iv.) The Doctrine of a Future Life in the Psalter, and (v.) The Messianic Psalms (both by the Rev. N. J. D. White); (vi.) The Imprecatory Psalms (Bishop of Derry); (vii.) The Penitential Psalms (the Dean of St. Patrick's); (viii.) The Psalter in the Public Worship of the Church (Dr. Lawlor); (ix.) The Psalms in Christian History (the Dean of St. Patrick's). All the lectures, speaking generally, are suited to the purpose for which they are designed, and must have been listened to with interest and profit by those who heard them. The last three are perhaps the most interesting and the freshest. In the seventh the Dean of St. Patrick's shows himself to be dis-

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criminating as well as sympathetic; the eighth and ninth contain many particulars not generally known respecting the liturgical use of the Psalms in the early and mediæval Church, and the application of texts from the Psalter by Churchmen upon famous occasions of history. The first lecture is also a good and instructive one; but Dr. Lawlor should have been more circumspect than to cite the Chronicles as an historical authority for the music sung by the Levites when David removed the ark to Zion; and instead of describing the Psalm in 1 Chron. xvi. 8-36 as 'the very words which they used' (!) on the occasion, should rather have taken pains to inform the reader that the three Psalms, of parts of which 1 Chron. xvi. 8-36 is composed, are all obviously late, post-exilic compositions.

The second lecture is the least satisfactory and adequate. Animus against Professor Cheyne and Wellhausen has spoilt the writer's judgment; and he has adduced a number of arguments in favour of the existence of many early, and even Davidic, psalms (though he does not specify which he has in mind), which anyone acquainted with the subject can see at once are of no value. There are many Hebrew words the meanings of which the Septuagint translators do not know, besides the musical notes in the Psalms; and if the 'Chief Musician,' for instance, is really an ancient title, how comes it that the verb from which the Hebrew participle so rendered is derived is found *exclusively* in post-exilic writings (Chronicles and Ezra)? Where, again, are the 'many' descriptions of David as a psalmist in 'books written before the exile'? And what possible proof that David wrote psalms is to be found in the passage of Amos which says that the nobles of Samaria invented for their banquets 'instruments of music' like David? We have no desire to deny that David laid the foundations of Hebrew psalmody; still less is it our wish to advocate extreme theories of the lateness of the Psalms; but we think that Canon Kennedy might, with advantage, have reconsidered some of his arguments, and that he would have done more wisely if he had accommodated himself to the better-grounded, intermediate position adopted, for instance, by Driver in his *Introduction* or Davison in his article in Hastings's *Dictionary*. The lectures on the eschatology of the Psalms and the doctrine of a future life in the Psalms will be useful and instructive to many readers. On pp. 47, 48, however, some questionable theories are adopted (though they do not affect the substance of the lecture); and on p. 50 it might have been worth mentioning that not Wellhausen alone, but many scholars besides (including Perowne), adopt the reading 'is come from Sinai' in Ps. lxxviii. 17. The fifth and sixth lectures also contain much that is suggestive and to the point,

though the former is rather brief and vague on the Messianic Psalms themselves, dealing chiefly with introductory and incidental matter connected with them. With the exceptions to which we have called attention, we are very pleased to recommend this volume to our readers.

*The Book of Genesis*, with Introduction and Notes by S. R. Driver, D.D., Regius Professor of Hebrew and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford, &c. Price 10s. 6d. (London: Methuen, 1904.)

FEW books have been more needed than a commentary on Genesis, which should be popular, reverent, and at the same time instinct with ripe learning. For Genesis, more than any other Old Testament book, gives opportunity to the commentator of meeting the difficulties so widely felt and of elevating and developing the ideas commonly entertained with regard to Holy Scripture. The scholar who should undertake the difficult and charitable task must be well trained in cautious, scientific criticism, practically experienced in the difficulties which beset ordinary men, and also in their deepest spiritual needs, and himself a man of firm and living faith. For this duty Dr. Driver is eminently fitted. Of his qualifications as a scholar no question can be made. His practical experience of the needs of ordinary men is assured by long-continued labour in lecturing on this book to theological students; the commentary shows almost too patient a sympathy with trivial difficulties, while its admirable arrangement, terseness, and lucidity are no doubt largely due to this preliminary work of lecturing. Further, its tone may well serve to allay the anxiety of those who do not associate the editor's name with cautious criticism, but fancy him to be a rash innovator, given to making statements which offend reverent minds and which cannot be substantiated. Dr. Driver has accomplished a task not altogether unlike that of the Hebrew historians he had to interpret. Out of the formless mass of critical matter he has separated the reasonable from the absurd, that which has a human from that which has a merely academic interest; he has made the result readable, and touched it with spiritual life. In his commentary, as in their histories, there is no doubt a temporary element. Some things will be corrected by the more exact knowledge of a later generation. But we may be confident that he will not be corrected in that which is of primary importance. The generations to come will not return to a mechanical theory of inspiration, nor seek in Genesis answers to questions which ought to be asked of physical or historical science; and they will ask, with growing confidence in the answer, those questions that are concerned with God and His relations to men.

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The first part of the introduction consists of the documentary analysis. It should, perhaps, be conceded that future generations may alter the theory by which the origin and dates of the three divisions of the existing text are settled, but it is hardly possible to study Dr. Driver's arguments without being convinced that the division itself is a real one, and that the sections styled P are later than those styled J and E. Throughout the commentary the literary habits of the writer are manifest. There is an ease and finality about those notes wherein the usages of language are treated, which give them a peculiar charm (the note on 'My Soul,' Gen. xii. 13 might be referred to as an example). And so, in this matter of analysis, the literary arguments from the use of words, and distinctions of style, are especially well set out, and the reader nearly always feels he is in the hands of one who is not likely to give an ill-considered judgment on such a question. An accident in the treatment may confirm this impression. On p. 14 Dr. Driver describes in eight lines the characteristics of J's narrative style. He then quotes a longer passage from the *Oxford Hexateuch* to complete his description. If the inverted commas were omitted, it would still be impossible for a reader, at all versed in English literature, to doubt that another hand had intruded at this point and from his own certainty about the English, he would readily comprehend Dr. Driver's certainty about the Hebrew, although, of course, absolute conviction is hardly likely to be attained by anyone without his own laborious study.

The next division of the introduction is on 'The Chronology of Genesis.' Here the demonstration is mainly mathematical, and it is vain to dispute the conclusion

'that the chronology of the Book of Genesis—which is, in effect, P's chronology—in spite of the ostensible precision of its details, has *no historical value*. The sole value which it possesses is that it sets before us the manner in which the author himself viewed the chronology of the period, and the perspective in which he placed the various personages who figure in it. It is an artificial system which must have been arrived at in some way by computation; though the data upon which it was calculated have not at present been ascertained.'

The chronology of the book is not consistent with itself, and here, as in so many other cases, the critical analysis helps the reader to solve the problems which are thus suggested. It prepares us, too, for the discoveries about the age of the world and of man, which have been made by physical science, and which are discussed in the following division on 'The Historical Value of the Book of Genesis.'

Here it may be supposed that Dr. Driver is not on his own ground, but it is evidently ground with which he has a very fair acquaintance, and as he makes no statements for which he does not refer to authorities, he may still be taken as at least a competent guide. Those who consider what he has written here and in the excursus on the cosmogony of Genesis, will confess that he deserves more generous praise. The same fine sympathy which has led him to understand the difficulties of ordinary men enables him to enter into the enthusiasm of the physical inquirer. No isolated quotations would convey the impression which is stamped upon us as we read these careful, unadorned paragraphs, which follow one another in logical succession, completing in patient touches of unwearied art their magnificent picture of the history of the earth and its inhabitants. This part of the book will be valuable to those who are a little inclined to regard the progress of natural science with distrust, helping them to understand why so many men, whose lives are dedicated to this kind of inquiry, turn from what they (too readily) regard as the limited revelation offered by the Bible, to this more vast and glorious revelation which God is making to them in their own work. It was time that such a commentary as this should vindicate for all her sons that freedom which the Church has always upheld, and which perhaps has never been quite lost among those who have been trained in sober Church of England principles. No one ought to scruple about admitting

‘that an infinitely more adequate conception of the astonishing breadth and scope of creation, and of the marvellously wonderful and comprehensive plan by which the Creator has willed both to organize and develop life upon the earth, and afterwards gradually to civilize and educate human beings upon it, can be obtained from a study of the sciences of astronomy, geology, and anthropology, than from the early chapters of Genesis: on the other hand, these chapters of Genesis do seize and give vivid and forcible expression to certain vital and fundamental truths respecting the relation of the world and man to God, which the study of those sciences by themselves could never lead to: the Bible and human science thus supplement one another: but we must go to human science for the material *facts* of nature and life, and to the Bible for the spiritual realities by which those facts are illuminated, and (in their ultimate origin) explained.’

So Dr. Driver writes in his discussion of ‘The Religious Value of Genesis.’ This is the most important part of his introduction, and he makes it quite clear that Genesis does still possess a religious value in spite of the progress of criticism and of physical science in the last fifty or sixty years, during which short period, it must be

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remembered, the whole task of defence, so called, has been set anew. But, more than that, he shows that this 'defence' is not needed; that the religious value of Genesis has been brought into still clearer light by criticism and science; that spiritual truth is real truth, the most real truth, and that spiritual truth is plainly and authoritatively declared to us in Genesis. If we ask what this authority is—in other words, what is meant by Inspiration, it must be acknowledged that Dr. Driver gives no definite answer. He does not, for the same reason that the Church does not. The student will not even learn from the introduction alone all that Dr. Driver has to teach him about Inspiration: for the commentator can, in this matter, only point us to the book on which he comments: 'the Bible is the only "inspired" book that we know of; and as no independent definition of inspiration exists, the only sound method is to study the facts presented by the Bible, and to formulate our theory of inspiration accordingly.' The notes in this commentary, supplementing the introduction, will at least guide a thoughtful student in the right direction for formulating such a theory. It might be suspected sometimes that Dr. Driver draws with too facile readiness a moral out of the history, though there are other places, especially when he sketches a character, that make us ashamed to entertain such a suspicion. But, in truth, this sound morality running through the book confirms our instinctive trust of the sublime revelation of God's nature and work and promises, which is more directly the product of its inspiration. The comparison of such stories as that of the Flood with the same stories in Babylonian legend is another confirmation. Such selection, such purifying has been carried on, not only by the historians, but during the long preceding process of oral tradition among the Hebrew people, as compels us to discern the operation of a pure and serious spirit, which is other than the spirit of the nations. There may be much in Genesis which is not scientific, much which is not historical, there are some parts, as in the narratives of the patriarchs, of which it is difficult to say where strict history passes into a more shadowy region; but Genesis remains the expression through its highest genius of a truth-loving nation's honest search for truth, and of its divinely guided progress to the highest truth in the region of knowledge as of life.

## II. DOCTRINAL THEOLOGY.

*The Early Eucharist* (A.D. 30-180). By W. B. FRANKLAND, M.A.  
Price 5s. net. (London: C. J. Clay and Sons, 1902.)

THIS valuable treatise is an expansion and revision of the Hulsean Prize Essay for 1900. In it Mr. Frankland has compiled the

evidence bearing on the Eucharist during the period mentioned in the title ; and printed the passages at length in parallel columns in their original languages and in an English translation. To this he has added a very clear and able analysis of the evidence, going through the passages quoted in detail ; and this is followed by a no less useful synthesis of the evidence under the headings of 'The Celebration of the Eucharist,' 'The Discipline of the Eucharist,' 'The Eucharist as a Spiritual Meal,' 'The Eucharist as a Communion,' 'The Eucharist as a Service of Thanksgiving,' 'The Eucharist as a Memorial Service,' 'The Eucharist as the Christian Sacrifice,' and 'The Economy of the Eucharistic Mystery.' There are also some additional notes, which include a statement of Mr. Frankland's reasons for adhering to the longer text of St. Luke xxii. 14-20, and criticisms of the views about the origin of the Eucharist associated with the names of Dr. Percy Gardner and Dr. Arthur Wright. It may be doubted whether Mr. Frankland is right in his opinion that St. Irenæus does not teach that the Eucharist is an oblation of the Body and Blood of Christ ; and there is less than his usual completeness in the repeated statement without explanation that the Eucharist recorded in Acts xx. 7-12 was 'in the evening.' As a whole the book is an admirable piece of critical work which merits the close attention of scholars.

*The Future State.* By the Rev. S. C. GAYFORD, M.A., Vice-Principal of Cuddesdon College. Price 1s. net. (London : Rivingtons, 1903.)

THIS volume of the Oxford Church Text Books is a successful attempt to state in a short form and in plain language the teaching of Holy Scripture and of the Christian Church as to the present and future condition of the departed. The chapter on 'the belief in a future life in the Old Testament' is written from the point of view of the criticism which regards the second part of the Book of Isaiah as the product of the Exile and the Book of Daniel as written about the year 165 B.C. In it and throughout his work Mr. Gayford's statements are made with great accuracy, fairness, and moderation.

*An Introduction to the Early History of Christian Doctrine to the Time of the Council of Chalcedon.* By J. F. BETHUNE-BAKER, B.D. Price 10s. 6d. (London : Methuen and Co., 1903.)

ENGLISH students have hitherto been ill provided with histories of Christian doctrine. They have been compelled to avail themselves, and must still avail themselves, of the works of Klee, Schwane, Harnack, Seeberg, and other foreign writers. This is a real mis-

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fortune for the majority of students, both because English works on dogmatic theology are apt to be marked by a greater love of fair play than Continental works on doctrine, and because those who do not read a foreign language with facility turn to the first foreign history of doctrine which happens to be translated into English.

Mr. Bethune-Baker's book is fair-minded, accurate, and interesting. And while written by a Cambridge scholar, it will be a real boon to Oxford theological students as covering the period which must be studied in view of the new regulations which come into force in 1905. After a short introductory chapter there are three chapters devoted respectively to the beginnings of doctrines in the New Testament, the development of doctrine, and the sources of doctrine in oral tradition and Scripture. After this there is an account of the controversies with Ebionism, Gnosticism, and Monarchianism, and then the great Trinitarian and Christological controversies are dealt with down to A.D. 451. The great importance of the teaching of Basilides and Valentinus makes us wish for a rather fuller treatment; and the Moslem authorities for Manicheism should have been described more definitely, especially as one of the most interesting has now been translated into English. And though the account of the Logos doctrine of the Apologists is correct, the contrast between that doctrine and the doctrine of St. John should have been emphasized; and we regret to see, without more ample qualification, the statement that 'Sabellianism no doubt prepared the way for the Nicene theology' (p. 107). Again the theories of St. Cyril and other Fathers with regard to our Lord's human knowledge are so important that we cannot agree that they may be disregarded as not bearing on the Christological controversies of the fourth and fifth centuries. But even if we regard such omissions as defects, the book contains an abundance of sound and practical information.

After Eutychianism, the doctrines of sin, grace, and the Atonement are discussed. The account of Pelagianism and of the teaching of St. Augustine is particularly clear, though we are disposed to think that a slightly too Jansenist colour has been given to the teaching of St. Augustine. Nearer the end of the book the complexity of the questions raised by St. Augustine's conception of the Church is properly recognized, and we are glad to see that the author has avoided Harnack's error of attributing to St. Augustine the creation of a doctrine which is to be found in Optatus. The book closes with two chapters on the Sacraments. The worth and intelligible character of that on the Eucharist is enhanced by an introductory note explaining the chief modern theories with regard to the nature of that Sacrament. There is also a note on reservation of the Sacrament.

At the end of this note it is said that 'reservation, even by priests, for the purpose of communicating the laity, is said to have been prohibited by an Armenian canon of the fourth century.' What the Armenian canon of St. Sahak really says is, 'Outside the church priests shall not dare to carry the sacraments into the houses of cultivators, and there impart the holiness, except only in cases of sickness.' These canons are translated by Mr. F. C. Conybeare in the *American Journal of Theology*, October 1898.

### III. SERMONS.

*Faith and Knowledge.* Sermons by W. R. INGE, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Hertford College, Oxford. Price 4s. 6d. net. (Edinburgh : T. and T. Clark, 1904.)

THOSE who have read Mr. Inge's previously published works, or have had the good fortune to hear him in the pulpit, will give a special welcome to a book bearing his name on the title-page. They will expect to be brought by reading it into contact with a mind of marked individuality, actively engaged in thinking out for itself the problems with which it chooses to deal, sensitively responsive to the currents of thought which move around it, and moreover gifted with a rare power of expressing what has to be said in language always dignified and often eloquent. Nor will they be disappointed in the present case.

We shall be following the lead given us by Mr. Inge himself, in his preface to this interesting volume of sermons, if we regard it as embodying a protest against 'the *Wünsch-philosophie* which is now so popular among Christian apologists' (p. vi). We have great sympathy with Mr. Inge in this protest. *Wünsch-philosophie*, Pragmatism, and the like tendencies in contemporary thought may not be without a relative justification in the one-sided intellectualism suggested by the language of certain idealistic philosophers; but there can be little doubt that there is now a real danger of philosophical students forgetting that the very existence of philosophy depends on the claim of reason to be more than the 'slave of the passions' or even of the 'will to live'; a real danger of theologians standing much in need of the warning quoted by Mr. Inge from Benjamin Whichcote: 'It ill becomes us to make our intellectual faculties Gibeonites' (p. 242 : cp. p. 290). But, just because we sympathize with Mr. Inge in this protest, we could wish that the protest were less ambiguous. It is one of the defects of the sermon as a medium of philosophical teaching—a defect felt even in the case of so great a thinker as Butler—that the pulpit-philosopher is apt to leave inconsistent or seemingly

inconsistent statements standing side by side for lack of the opportunity of reconciling them ; and sometimes one thinks that for lack of such opportunity he has perhaps hardly reconciled them in his own mind.

On p. 102 Mr. Inge deplores the 'interference of the will' where religion is concerned 'with the calm processes of the intellect.' What he means by the 'will' he then goes on to explain. 'The will,' he says, 'is racial instinct which has become conscious of its own existence without being able to give reasons for itself.' Now, in a work of Mr. Inge's, published almost simultaneously with these sermons,<sup>1</sup> he tells us that he takes religion for the racial will to live. It seems difficult to understand how Mr. Inge can separate himself from a *Wünsch-philosophie* of religion if religion be, by its definition, simply a form of the will. Mr. Inge would, however, probably regard a passage in his sermon on *The Awakening of the Religious Consciousness* (pp. 178, 179) as more adequately explaining his meaning. Here religion is described, not as 'will,' but as 'instinct' ; as an 'energy' discharging in the human race 'the same protective and preservative function which in the lower animals is discharged by instinct,' which 'attaches itself' not only to the 'will' but to the 'feeling' and the 'intelligence.' We hope that Mr. Inge will find occasion at some future time to give us his thoughts on this subject in a fuller and more systematic form.

Another instance in which we find it hard to be sure of our author's exact view is the following. On p. 177 he says that 'ultimate truth must remain for us a matter of reasonable confidence, of faith, not of knowledge.' But on p. 162 he tells us : 'It is not, or ought not to be true, that probability is the guide of life.' His meaning in the latter passage is that in religion it should always be our aim to verify in our own religious experience what has first come to us as a statement made by an authority which we have reasonable grounds for believing will probably inform us aright. Such a verification is not the same as the exhaustive knowledge, the complete insight into the necessity, which we may possess in the case of a simple geometrical or numerical truth ; and it is of such knowledge that Mr. Inge is thinking on p. 177. But a recognition of this last distinction is often, at least in part, what is intended by those who use the phraseology of *Wünsch-philosophie*, and this does not seem to be sufficiently recognized. Nor is the matter made clearer by the unusual interpretation (p. 162) of the traditional contrast between 'reason' and 'understanding' as a contrast between 'personal

<sup>1</sup> *Life, Light, and Love*. A Selection from the German Mystics of the Middle Ages. Methuen, 1904.

inspiration' and the acceptance of authority. It is not very difficult to see how Mr. Inge has arrived at this interpretation, or to suggest explanations which would make it plausible; but it should not have been propounded without some explanation.

Again, on p. 161, Mr. Inge tells us that 'Eckhart was wrong when he said, "The eye with which I see God is the same as that with which He sees me."' So in *Life, Light, and Love*, Mr. Inge quotes this same saying of the great mediæval mystic as 'startling.' But only a little below he apparently accepts as true the very just observation of Professor A. E. Taylor that 'until the identification of man's love of God with God's love of Himself' (and that seems a more startling identification than that of man's love of God with God's love of man) 'has been seen to be no paradox, but a simple and fundamental truth, the masterpieces of the world's religious literature must remain a sealed book to us.' The recognition of an important truth in this passage should at any rate have prevented Mr. Inge from making the bald assertion that 'Eckhart was wrong' in his expression of the same thought.

But the most striking case of this frequent failure on Mr. Inge's part to bring together two lines of thought, both of which attract him, occurs in connexion with the last sermon in this book, which is also the sermon most likely to attract attention, and in which the general motive, whence the whole collection derives its note, is most conspicuous; we mean the sermon on *Liberal Catholicism* which deals in a notably unsympathetic manner with the theology of the Abbé Loisy (whom for some unexplained reason Mr. Inge twice calls Father Loisy, as though he were a Regular or an Irishman). In this sermon Mr. Inge seems to us to have forgotten for a while the just observations on religious controversy which are to be found in his own sermon on *Truth in Love* (p. 105). We are far from denying that some of his criticisms on the French theologian have much reason in them. In particular, the assumption that the development of the teaching of Christ which has taken place within the communion of the Roman See is the only one to be considered seems to us not only unnecessary on M. Loisy's own principles but inconsistent with them. But sometimes Mr. Inge's methods in his controversy with M. Loisy, seem scarcely compatible with the charitableness he so eloquently recommends, in the earlier sermon above quoted, to theological disputants. We may take as an instance the way in which he casts in M. Loisy's teeth the use of the expression 'limited intelligence' in reference to the historical Jesus. The sting of this expression lies in the colloquial associations of the phrase, which suggest a disparagement that is absent from it in its strict meaning; in which

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indeed it would be quite as applicable, on any theory which recognizes a 'kenosis' at all, as on that of M. Loisy himself. The theological question between (say) the Bishop of Worcester and M. Loisy relates only to the degree of limitation in the intelligence of Jesus as man which is compatible with recognizing in Him the Son of God incarnate.

Mr. Inge seems to have failed almost entirely to enter into M. Loisy's thought, which is indeed, we readily admit, often difficult to follow. It would be too long a task to criticize word for word the last two pages of the sermon on *Liberal Catholicism*, but we are bound to say that they seem to us full of confusion and prejudice. Did Mr. Inge himself, however, occupy or (as a rule) claim to occupy a merely traditional or conservative position in theology—were he a champion of the 'shut mind' which he so well describes in his address to clergy called *Aspects of Self-Consecration*—we should understand his attitude towards M. Loisy, even while disagreeing with it; nor should we be concerned to scrutinize too narrowly the accuracy of a criticism which, as given from the pulpit, could hardly be denied the right to avail itself of rhetorical artifice. But we feel towards Mr. Inge in his attack on M. Loisy as we do in another field of theological controversy towards certain censors of the 'higher critics' of the Old Testament, who take leave to desert the traditional view, when they see reason, as much as these critics themselves, but who, instead of representing themselves as what they are, critics who have arrived at different conclusions from their fellow-scholars, pose as champions of tradition and give all possible encouragement to the 'shut mind.' The sermon on *Liberal Catholicism* does itself singular injustice if it is not intended to enlist against the teaching of M. Loisy the sympathies of those who are attached to a traditional orthodoxy; it is only on a closer inspection that one perceives that Mr. Inge has in no way committed himself to the support of much that traditional orthodoxy values most and the supposed indifference of M. Loisy to which is just what makes it most apprehensive concerning his teaching. And when we go outside the sermon itself, and look at other works of Mr. Inge within and without the cover of the book before us, we shall find that he is very far from being a traditional conservative. In the sermon on *Hope and Fulfilment* he fully recognizes the part played by illusion in the history of religious progress. In that on *The Risen Christ*, though he certainly does not at all deny a 'physical' resurrection, he follows a line of thought which is compatible with the denial of it. He is not at all unconscious of the difficulty in which M. Loisy finds himself: the difficulty of one who thinks that the historical evidence may seem insufficient to warrant

belief in some of the most notable events related of our Lord as historical facts, while at the same time he is no less convinced of the reality of those experiences of the Church and of the individual Christian soul which the language of tradition connects with those events; convinced with an experimental assurance which, whatever its antecedents may have been, it would be as absurd to doubt because of the defect in the historical evidence of the events, as it would be for one to whom his religion, found, it may be, at first in a 'sudden conversion,' is the most real thing in life, to doubt its reality because he cannot prove that in some respects his memory may not deceive him as to the circumstances of his conversion, or even that other explanations may be given of some of these than those which in the fervour of his new-won faith he was once content to give. The difficulty in which one with such doubts and such convictions must find himself gives rise to the expectation, expressed very well by Mr. Inge himself in the introduction to *Life, Light, and Love*, that 'some changes may possibly take place in the external proportions of Christian orthodoxy'; that 'the appearance of a vigorous body of faith, standing firmly on its own feet, may even have the effect of relegating to the sphere of pious opinion some tenets which have hitherto "seemed to be pillars."' But no allusion to either difficulty or expectation is made in the sermon on *Liberal Catholicism*.

We have dwelt at some length on this matter, because the preface to the book before us seems to throw into relief the controversy most explicitly taken in hand by Mr. Inge in the last sermon of the collection; and because the direct treatment of a burning question of the day always attracts a disproportionate degree of attention. We are (as we have said) very far from objecting to many of Mr. Inge's criticisms on M. Loisy; with some of them we are disposed to agree; but we could wish that Mr. Inge had seen his way to deal with M. Loisy in the spirit of a fellow-worker in the same cause (for this we are persuaded that he is), and not in a spirit which sometimes comes dangerously near to that so eloquently condemned by himself on p. 238.

We do not, however, wish to leave the impression that what we have found to blame in the last sermon is characteristic of the whole work. On the contrary, we find nothing of the sort elsewhere. We shall by no means be mentioning all that we thought excellent in singling out some sermons that we especially admire; but we should like to call attention to the sermon called *Be Children—Be Men*, preached by Mr. Inge as Catechist in Exeter College Chapel; that on *The Priesthood of the Laity*; and above all, the already-mentioned address to clergy called *Aspects of Self-Consecration*.

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That on *Eternal Life* is very interesting, but disappoints the reader of a conclusion. There is in the sermon on *Justice* a curious and attractive echo (whether conscious or unconscious we cannot tell) of the style of Jowett. Everywhere, as in the Bampton Lectures on *Christian Mysticism*, we are reminded of Mr. Inge's spiritual kinship with the Cambridge Platonists of the seventeenth century; a kinship which perhaps rendered inevitable a certain lack of sympathy (apparent on p. 167 and p. 183) with some features of the 'Evangelical' type of piety.

We have noticed two misprints; of 'this' for 'His' on p. 68, and of 'connected' for 'corrected' on p. 277.

#### IV. ARCHÆOLOGY.

*English Architecture.* By THOMAS DINHAM ATKINSON, Architect.  
With 200 Illustrations. Price 3s. 6d. (Methuen, 1904.)

IN this sketch of English architecture the whole course is traversed from Saxon times to the end of the eighteenth century, and this long period is treated twice over. First, the general development of the art is traced so far as to enable the reader to recognize approximately the date of any building he may visit; then some account is given of the plan and arrangement of particular classes of buildings—churches, monasteries, houses; and the meaning of the whole history is summed in a concluding chapter. A chronological list of buildings and architects, a table of the periods of English architecture, a glossary, and a good index are added. Opposite the title-page is a map of England showing some of the natural products and some characteristics of building and architecture peculiar to different localities, and the introduction, in which sensible remarks are made about the preservation and repair of ancient work, ends with a short annotated bibliography of architectural history. The explanatory list of the drawings is useful: most of these are from original sketches, many of which are of singular beauty.

The whole is admirably done, and might almost be described in the famous words of Inigo Jones, quoted on p. 184, as 'solid, proportional according to the rules, masculine and unaffected.' It might seem difficult to complete so large a design in such a small space, but the author has imposed upon himself certain limitations. He does not touch on Scottish or Irish art, and in his own subject he keeps to what he calls the grammar, and avoids elaborate discussions on disputed points, as well as reflections on 'the great imaginative characteristics of our architecture.' 'The book might,' he says, 'be more accurately called an account of English *building*

rather than of English *architecture*, if indeed it were not impossible to separate the two.' It is the work of an architect who is also a practical antiquary. Hence the terse paragraphs are full of original observation, which is often pointed by clever illustrations from early English literature, and in spite of the disclaimer in the preface, a sentence here and there does forcibly impress upon the reader the poetical significance of a building or a style.

The second part supplies information which is not generally given in handbooks and is valuable. No one can appreciate ecclesiastical architecture without knowing something about ecclesiology and the arrangements of a monastery, or domestic architecture without understanding the development of the mediæval into the Elizabethan and modern house, or indeed either, unless he realises in some measure the life of the times. All this is clearly told with as much precision as is possible in the present state of our knowledge.

Had space allowed it would have been interesting to hear more about the theory that 'the architecture of the great period of Greek art was perhaps itself a renaissance,' or to be informed somewhat more precisely about the use of the *chancel* in the mediæval parish church. In the short discussion about the origin of the pointed arch, 'Byzantium' seems to be a compendium for 'builders working in the Byzantine style.' Cambridge men and East Anglians ought to give a particularly generous welcome to Mr. Atkinson, who, without indeed neglecting the rest of England, has chiefly celebrated those parts; the sketches from Ely and Cambridge are delightful, two especially—the south-east door and the tympanum of the door in the cloister at Ely.

#### V. GENERAL LITERATURE.

*Old Times and New.*—By J. G. TETLEY, D.D., Magdalen College, Oxford, Residentiary Canon of Bristol. Price 7s. 6d. net. (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1904.)

THE writer of a book of reminiscences must expect to run the gauntlet of an exacting criticism. Like every other department of light literature, sketches, more or less autobiographic and anecdotal, have poured forth from the press in amazing volume. State officials of high rank, naval, military and civil; clergy of every degree below the episcopate; artists serious and comic; police magistrates retired from business, and playwrights in their intervals of leisure—in short, all sorts and conditions of men swell the throng. If the style of composition required for such compilations is comparatively easy, it abounds in pitfalls of self-revelation and in opportunities for writers

'to give themselves away,' of which not a few authors take the fullest advantage with such complacent unconsciousness that we were seriously asked recently whether autobiography did not usually engender a dislike for the biographer. No apprehension, however, of such a result need turn anyone aside from *Old Times and New*. Written from first to last in the high tone of a refined Christian gentleman, Canon Tetley's book commands the reader's attention by the sustained interest of its varied contents. If Part I.—'While Old Times last'—attracts us more than some portions of the second division of the book, it is perhaps because it deals with subjects of historic importance—reminiscences of Waterloo, recollections of Sir George Arthur and his daughter Lady Frere, fragments of an old world diary and the circumstantial details of the famous 'Wynyard' ghost story.

In the second division, headed 'With Change of Times,' the sections of Lanhydrock, Badminton, and Highnam introduce us to some grand specimens of cultured Englishmen, of whom we would gladly know more than Canon Tetley's space allows. Of Mr. Gambier Parry, especially, who played the various parts of artist and country gentleman and munificent Churchman, Canon Tetley's charming appreciation whets an appetite for fuller knowledge which we trust he may some day gratify. Such lives as those of Lord and Lady Robartes and the Marchioness of Waterford and Mr. and Mrs. Gambier Parry exhibit a marvellous combination of intellectual culture and knowledge of the world with all the graces of good breeding and the recognition of the unseen verities in everyday life. The hidden spring of such lives is well described in Mr. Gambier Parry's own words. 'Happy are they that have their hearts pure, and their intelligence of sense and spirit bright, to perceive beneath the outward show of things, the living Majesty of that Wisdom, Power, and Love divine, whence Perfect Beauty, the fountain of all joy, flows forth for ever.' (Quoted pp. 243-4.) We have not space to enlarge upon the lighter aspect of *Old Times and New*. It abounds in good stories. Here is a solitary specimen. Gambier Parry asked a lady if she had noticed the large price just then given for a Great Auk's egg. 'I think you mean a *hawk*, don't you?' was her reply. Gambier Parry and a dropped H! A keen sense of the ludicrous materially assists the Canon's powers as a *raconteur*, and it is worth noticing that throughout his pages we have not lighted on a single ill-natured word. The book in all its parts, grave and gay, is worthy alike of the position and reputation of its author; and, to borrow one of Canon Tetley's own phrases, we know of no higher compliment.

*Odds and Ends.* By FRANCIS PIGOU, D.D., Dean of Bristol, (London: Edward Arnold, 1903.)

THE reviewer naturally approaches with respectful expectation a work designed to record the ripened experience and mature judgment of a dean. The office is unique, and sacred to learned leisure, and the names of Church and Milman and Mansel, with a score of hardly less notable and recent examples, who have adorned their dignity with works of sterling value, immediately occur to us. Here is a book put forth by one who has held in succession two of these rare and envied positions. What ample store of learning or sagacity or spirituality may we not anticipate from so highly honoured a pen!

Alas for the vanity of human forecasts, however antecedently justifiable! Never was disillusionment more rapid and complete. The first few pages suggest the terrible suspicion (*horresco referens*), which further reading fully confirms, that even a dean can drivel. It is a hard word to use, but the conscientious perusal of *Odds and Ends* from title-page to colophon more than justifies it. Long paragraphs of insistence on the obvious, stale stories, many marred in the telling, all the trivialities and futilities of an everyday commonplace life, well enough as they pass rapidly by, but beneath contempt when solemnly set down in print, infinitely small egoisms, mingled with peevish complaints over trifles affecting the appreciation of the writer's position as dean or missionary—these are ingredients which mix largely and jar incongruously with serious subjects that demand sacred and tender handling. When we ask the *raison d'être* of this strange farrago, the dean supplies it. It is penned, he tells us, with manifest pride, because an earlier volume, duly noticed in this review, brought abundant grist to the mill. We can well believe it. The buffoon also carries off more cash than the scientific lecturer, if that be all. Even men of literary ability may be constrained to write what artists term 'pot boilers,' but no such excuse can shelter the holder of one of our best-endowed deaneries. Yet even in putting forth such a volume as *Odds and Ends* it might be worth while to observe the rules of grammar. Here are some specimens of the dean's English: 'I should prefer such a one, of whose enmity *you* are perfectly aware, *than* a Judas with his kiss of betrayal' (p. 7). 'We have had ten and twelve days' missions, partly of the nature of a revival, and yet, where soberly conducted and on Church lines, *are* unaccompanied,' &c. (p. 169). 'Then it was that the pent up, ill-restrained feeling of ten days burst its barriers, *like the walls of a reservoir give way to pressure*' (p. 193). We must not enter into further details. Those who care to possess this latest production of Dr. Pigou can secure a copy for the modest price of sixteen shillings.



*The Treasury*, edited by ANTHONY DEANE. Vol. II. October-March, 1903-4. Vol. III. April-September, 1904. Price 5s. 6d. each net or 6d. monthly. (London: G. J. Palmer and Sons.)

THERE was room for another popular illustrated magazine, intended primarily for Churchmen, and *The Treasury*, which now enters upon the third year of its existence, thoroughly deserves the reputation which it has gained. The two volumes before us cover a very wide field. A typical number includes an illustrated sketch of some prominent Churchman of present or bygone days, an instalment of a serial story by Mr. Baring-Gould or another, an exegetical study and Catechism Notes, excellent articles on Natural Science and History, Women at Work, Travel or General subjects, Short Stories, Editorial Notes, and Literary Competitions which demand something more than a smattering of knowledge.

The general standard of merit is distinctly high. We prefer on the whole the series of articles entitled 'Pillars of the Church' in the past—Laud, Ken, Herbert, Law, Jeremy Taylor, and others—to that concerned with living dignitaries, in which, though many of the studies are good, the appreciation is occasionally somewhat indiscriminating and the methods of the interviewer a little tiresome. We doubt whether it is quite fair to a living cleric to say that 'he would be absolutely intolerant of fools,' or to describe him as 'a very Savonarola in his vivid outlook upon a weary and a suffering world.' The articles by well-known writers on 'A Favourite Book of Mine' are always interesting and sometimes curious. We should no doubt expect to find Bacon's 'Essays,' Hood, Keats, 'In Memoriam,' 'The Autocrat,' but 'A Child's Garden of Verses,' Evelyn's 'Diary,' and 'The House of Life' are more unusual, and few probably would be prepared to give even the *name* of the author of 'The Honours of the Table.' Among the other literary articles attention may be called to the three on John Keble in the second volume, and especially to Dr. Lock's study of his poems. The answers to the 'Points that Perplex' seem marked by sound common-sense and should be found useful.

The editing has been admirably done, and very few slips have escaped notice. King Edward's School, Birmingham, has not so many as *twelve* daughter schools (iii. 496), and it is difficult to believe that one of the portraits (ii. 295) does represent Keble at the age of *fifty-one*. The drawing of some of the illustrations of the stories is a little stiff, but the photographs and printing and binding are excellent. We know few more acceptable gift-books or prizes than these two handsome volumes.

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## PERIODICALS.

*The Journal of Theological Studies* (Vol. V. No. 20. July 1904. Macmillan and Co.). 'A Modern Theory of the Fall,' by A. J. Mason. Discusses 'Tennant, *Origin and Propagation of Sin* (Hulsean Lectures) and *The Fall and Original Sin*.' 'The Position of the Laity in the Church,' by (the late) H. Hayman. Strictures on the Report of the Joint Committee of Canterbury Convocation. 'The Historical Setting of the Second and Third Epistles of St. John, II,' by Dom J. Chapman. The Church of Rome as the 'Elect Lady.' 'The Syrian Liturgies of the Presanctified, III,' by H. W. Codrington. Prints extracts from MSS. Cantab. Add. 1988 and Brit. Mus. Add. 7181. 'A Homily of St. Ephrem,' by A. S. D. Jones. From a MS. (Ethiop. and Syr., 9) at the India Office. 'Inscriptions from Shenoute's Monastery,' by W. E. Crum. 'The Old Latin Texts of the Minor Prophets, IV,' by W. O. E. Oesterley. Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi. 'Notes on the Didache,' by C. Bigg. Discusses Baptism by Affusion and some points in c. 1. 'Strophical Structure in St. Jude's Epistle,' by H. J. Cladder, S.J. 'St. Matthew's Parallel Narratives,' by T. Milne. 'Reasons for regarding Hilarius (Ambrosiaster) as the Author of the Mercator-Turner Anecdote,' by A. Souter. Fragment printed in *J. T. S.*, Jan. 1904. 'The Teaching of Christ about Divorce,' by E. Lyttelton. 'St. Mark and Divorce,' by F. C. Burkitt. 'Readings seemingly conflated in the MSS. of the Lausiac History,' by Dom E. C. Butler. 'The Interpolations in St. Cyprian's *De Unitate Ecclesiae*,' by Dom J. Chapman. In reply to Prof. E. W. Watson (*J. T. S.* April 1904). 'Notes on the Text of the Hymns of Hilary,' by A. J. Mason. See *J. T. S.* April 1904.

*The Expositor* (Nos. LV.-LVII. July-September 1904. Hodder and Stoughton). 'The "Coming One" of John the Baptist,' by B. W. Bacon. 'The Life of Christ according to St. Mark' (*continued*: also September), by W. H. Bennett. 'Studies in the First Epistle of John, III.' (*continued* August-September), by G. G. Findlay. 'The Letters to the Seven Churches' (*continued*: July, Thyatira; August-September, Sardis), by W. M. Ramsay. 'Translations from the Prophets' (*continued*: July, Jer. xlv. 1-xlviii. 28; August, Jer. xlviii. 29-xlix.), by S. R. Driver. 'The Authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews' (*continued* August), by A. R. Eagar. The Third Gospel, Acts and Hebrews all written by St. Luke. August: 'Loisy upon the Sermon on the Mount,' by J. Moffatt. 'Characteristics of New Testament Greek, VI.' (*continued* September), by J. H. Moulton. 'St. James V. 14, 15,' by J. H. D. Matthews. September. 'The Revised Version of the New Testament: a Plea for Hesitation as to its Adoption,' by J. B. McClellan. Criticizes some renderings in the Pauline Epistles. 'Conscience and Creed,' by A. E. Garvie. 'The Permanent Elements of Religion,' by D. S. Margoliouth.

*The Critical Review* (Vol. XIV. No. 4. July 1904. Williams and Norgate). 'Cullen, *Book of the Covenant in Moab*,' and 'Driver, *The Book of Genesis*,' by H. W. Robinson. 'H. A. A. Kennedy, *St. Paul's Conception of the Last Things*,' and 'Drummond, *The Fourth Gospel*,' by D. Purves. 'Schmidt, *Acta Pauli*,' by J. H. Wilkinson. 'Todd, *Politics and Religion in Ancient Israel*,' 'Fite, *Introductory Study of Ethics*,' 'M. Müller, *Silesian Horseherd*,' by J. Lendrum. 'Davidson, *Theology of the Old Testament*,' by J. Strachan. 'Falconer, *Maid of Shulam*,' and 'Waggett, *Religion and Science*,' by W. M. Rankin. 'Gunkel, *Verständnis des N. T.*,' 'Achelis, *Virgines Subintroductae*,' 'Hoennicke, *Chronologie des Apostels Paulus*,' by R. W. Stewart. Professor

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Salmond reviews: 'Plummer, *II. Corinthians*'; 'A. S. Lewis, *Acta Mythologica Apostolorum*'; Jülicher, *Introduction to N. T.* (Eng. trans.); 'De Boer, *History of Philosophy in Islam*.' The book fills a blank. 'J. E. Harrison, *Prolegomena to Greek Religion*'; 'Caldecott and Mackintosh, *Selections from the Literature of Theism*.' Favourable, but one editor's name is confused. 'Fisher, *Jonathan Edwards on the Trinity*'; 'L. A. Muirhead, *The Eschatology of Jesus*'; 'Hastie, *Theology of the Reformed Church*.'

*The Hibbert Journal* (Vol. II. No. 4. July 1904. Williams and Norgate). 'Sir Oliver Lodge on "The Re-interpretation of Christian Doctrine"' (*H. J.* April 1904), by Bishop Talbot. A friendly but critical discussion of Sir O. Lodge's view of the Christian doctrine of the Atonement. 'Hegel's Theory of Tragedy,' by A. C. Bradley. 'Herder,' by T. B. Saunders. 'The Two Idealisms,' by W. R. Sorley. 'Present Aspects of the Problem of Immortality,' by S. H. Mellone. 'L'Hypocrisie Biblique Britannique,' by W. F. Cobb. 'The stress laid on the Virgin Birth—as distinct from the Incarnation—is bound up with a low view of religion, a heretical view as to the nature of matter, and a false soteriology. . . . It is not blindness but cowardice, or obstinate conservatism, or want of education in religion, which attaches a religious value to the doctrine of the Virgin Birth: I say the doctrine, and not the fact. The fact no loyal Churchman cares to contradict. Its religious value no Christian man is at liberty to appraise high.' The language is more forcible than the arguments adduced. 'The Value of the Historical Method in Philosophy,' by W. Knight. 'The Problem of Evil,' by St. George Stock. 'We cannot assert in the same breath the reality of evil, and the fact of creation by an omnipotent, omniscient and benevolent being . . . We must give up making religion into a theory of the universe, and be content to regard it as a passion of the heart.' No modern theory is discussed. 'Art and Ideas,' by C. M. Bakewell. Discussions: 'The Resurrection of Jesus Christ' (*H. J.*, April 1904), by A. G. Robinson, A. Martin and J. Porteous. 'Redemption through Blood' (*ibid.*), by J. H. B. Masterman. Dr. Stanton replies to Prof. Schmiedel's criticisms of *The Gospels as Historical Documents* (*ibid.*) 'The Passing of Conviction,' by a 'City Clerk.' Very interesting. 'The Axiom of Infinity,' by B. Russell. Reviews: 'J. J. Thomson, *Electricity and Matter*,' by J. H. Poynting. 'J. E. Harrison, *Study of Greek Religion*,' by L. R. Farnell. 'Bertrand, *La Pensée religieuse au sein du Protestantisme libéral*,' by P. Gardner. 'Tennant, *Origin and Propagation of Sin, and Sources of the Doctrines of the Fall and Original Sin*,' by A. Boutwood. 'E. Metchnikoff, *The Nature of Man*,' by F. N. Hales. 'A. Seeberg, *Der Katechismus der Urchristenheit*,' by J. Moffatt. 'O. Pfeiderer, *Das Christusbild des Urchristlichen Glaubens*,' by C. M. Rickmers. 'Cambridge Modern History: Vol. II. *The Reformation*,' by H. S. Perris. 'Brierley, *Problems of Living*,' by W. Harris.

*The American Journal of Theology* (Vol. VIII. No. 3. July 1904. Chicago). 'A Plea for the Higher Study of Theology,' by C. A. Briggs. 'The Doctrine of the Person of Christ,' by W. H. Walker. Within the New Testament. 'The Logic of Evolution,' by S. Z. Batten. 'Persian Dualism,' by H. G. Smith. 'Faith and Mysticism,' by E. W. Lyman. Discusses *inter alia* Prof. James' Gifford Lectures, and Prof. King, *Theology and the Social Consciousness*. 'The Madrid MS. of Laodiceans,' by E. J. Goodspeed. A new transcript of Cod. Matrit. (*olim* Tolet.) The writer speaks of the difficulty of finding the MS., and omits its new number! 'The Martyrdom of John the

Apostle,' by F. P. Badham. A lengthy discussion of the evidence, and criticism of Prof. Schmiedel. Reviews: 'Feine, *Der Römerbrief*,' by O. Cone. 'Kuyppers, *The Book of Cerne*,' by G. Hodges. 'T. G. Pinches, *The Old Testament in the Light of Historical Records*,' by G. L. Robinson. 'Baldensperger, *Die messianisch-apokalyptischen Hoffnungen des Judenthums*,' and 'Volz, *Jüdische Eschatologie von Daniel bis Akiba*,' by E. E. Nourse. Two valuable books. 'G. B. Gray, *Numbers* [International Critical Commentary], H. Holzinger [Marti's Kurzer Hand-Commentar], B. Baentsch [Nowack's Handkommentar],' by F. B. Denio. 'Gifford, *Eusebii Praeparationis Libri XV*,' and 'Schwartz, *Eusebius' Kirchengeschichte, I.*,' by E. C. Richardson. 'Tennant, *Origin of Sin and Sources of the Doctrines of the Fall and Original Sin*,' by G. B. Stevens. 'Schmidt, *Die alten Petrusakten*,' by J. W. Platner. Recent works on 'Jesus and the Gospels' and 'The Code of Hammurabi' are reviewed by G. H. Gilbert and J. D. Prince. 'W. Wrede, *Die Echtheit des zweiten Thessalonicherbriefes*, and Wohlenberg, *Der erste und zweite Thessalonicherbrief ausgelegt*,' by J. E. Frame. 'Stanton, *The Gospels as Historical Documents*, and Drummond, *The Fourth Gospel*,' by B. W. Bacon. A lengthy discussion.

*The Princeton Theological Review* (Vol. II. No. 3. July 1904. Philadelphia: MacCalla and Co.). 'Thomas Cromwell, II.,' by P. Van Dyke. 'The Place of *οἰκοδομή* in New Testament Worship,' by H. M. Scott. 'Mosaism and Darwinism,' by G. Macloskie. 'Voragine as a Preacher,' by E. C. Richardson. A study of the author of the *Golden Legend*. 'Royal Titles in Antiquity: an Essay in Criticism, II.,' by R. D. Wilson. A large mass of material from the monuments. Reviews: 'Hoffmann, *Psychology and Common Life*,' 'G. W. Knox, *Direct and Fundamental Proofs of the Christian Religion*,' 'D. R. Breed, *Hymns and Hymn-Tunes*,' by H. C. Minton. 'Beattie, *Apologetics, or The Rational Vindication of Christianity*,' 'Rice, *Christian Faith in an Age of Science*,' by W. B. Greene, Jr. 'Caillard, *Individual Immortality*,' 'Chester, *Immortality a Rational Faith*,' 'C. F. Rogers, *Baptism and Christian Archaeology*,' 'Schaefer, *Über das Wesen des Christenthums*,' 'R. F. Weidner, *The Doctrine of the Church*,' 'H. C. Graves, *Handbook of Christian Doctrine*,' by B. B. Warfield. 'J. E. McFadyen, *Old Testament Criticism and the Christian Church*,' by M. C. Williams. 'W. Möller, *Are the Critics Right?*' 'A. B. Davidson, *Biblical and Literary Essays*,' by J. O. Boyd. Prof. J. I. Good reviews recent books on Calvin, Zwingli, etc. 'M. Friedländer, *Geschichte der jüdischen Apologetik als Vorgeschichte des Christenthums*,' by G. Voss. 'G. H. Morrison, *Sunrise Addresses*,' by P. Martin.

*The Dublin Review* (Vol. CXXXV. No. 270. July 1904. Burns and Oates). 'The Dutch Pope (Adrian VI.),' by Bishop Casartelli. 'The Acts of Paul,' by F. Bacchus. Reviews 'C. Schmidt, *Acta Pauli aus der Heidelberger Koptischen Papyrus-Handschrift, I.*' 'Unwritten History: an Episode of the Reign of Terror,' by B. de Courson. Story of thirty-two Nuns of Orange. 'Life and Energy,' by W. McDonald. Discusses Dom McLaughlin's views (D. R. Jan. 1904). 'A Catholic Champion against the Reformers of the Sixteenth Century,' by Dom M. Spitz. Bartholomew Arnoldi. 'More Light on Religion and Philosophy,' by C. S. Devas. Reviews 'Willmann, *Geschichte des Idealismus*,' 'In an East End Lane,' by M. F. Quinlan. 'The Ancient Church of Armenia,' by W. H. Kent, O.S.C. Reviews 'S. Weber, *Die Katholische Kirche in Armenien*.' Reviews: 'Birt, *Downside*,' 'Braun, *Two Hundred*

*Designs for Church Embroidery in Mediaeval Style.* A copiously illustrated work by a learned Jesuit. 'T. L. K. Oliphant, *Rome and Reform.*' 'Cambridge Modern History: VII., *The United States.*' Very favourable. 'Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Litteratur*, II.' 'A. H. Mathew, *A True Historical Relation of the Conversion of Sir Tobie Matthew to the Holy Catholic Faith.*' 'R. Graham, *St. Gilbert of Sempringham.*' 'M. Müller, *The Silesian Horseherd.*' Does the reviewer appreciate the real tendency of the 'answers to the Agnostic objections'? 'Turmel, *Histoire de la Théologie Positive jusqu'au Concile de Trente.*' 'Snow, *Sketches of Old Dounside.*' 'Ward, *The Real Dickens Land.*' 'Bremond, *Le Bienheureux Thomas More.*' 'Besse, *Saint Wandrille.*' 'Shahan, *The Beginnings of Christianity.*' 'Sicard, *Les Evêques pendant la Révolution: de l'Exil au Concordat.*' 'Almond, *History of Ampleforth Abbey.*'

*The Independent Review* (Vol. III. Nos. 10-12. July-September 1904. Fisher Unwin). 'Religion and Revelation: Another View,' by A. L. Lilley. In reply to Mr. Dickinson (*J.R.* May-June 1904). 'On History,' by B. Russell. 'Lines of Religious Inquiry,' by Goldwin Smith. 'The Poetry of George Meredith,' by G. M. Trevelyan. 'De Mortuo,' by F. R. Earp. An interesting character-study. Reviews: 'Herbert Spencer's *Autobiography*,' by W. H. Hudson. 'Reports of the Mosely Educational Commission,' by A. W. Pickard-Cambridge. 'Caïrd, *The Evolution of Theology in the Greek Philosophers*, by R. Mayor. 'Davitt, *The Fall of Feudalism in Ireland*,' by H. W. Nevins. August: 'A Complaint of Public Schools,' by R. Cholmeley. A criticism *inter alia* of Athleticism and of the commissariat. 'Spain To-day and To-morrow,' by T. del Marmol. 'The Industrial Position of Women,' by G. M. Tuckwell. 'Noise that You Pay for,' by G. Lowes Dickinson. An interesting discussion of modern music. 'The Village of the Future,' by H. Samuel. 'Shakespeare's Final Period,' by G. L. Strachey. 'Powers of Evil,' by C. D. Robertson. 'The Mormon Problem,' by H. W. Horwill. 'Modern Climbing: a Protest,' by G. W. Young. 'An Old Slave Book,' by M. Gaunt. Reviews: 'Walpole, *History of Twenty-Five Years*,' by H. A. L. Fisher. 'Mallock, *The Veil of the Temple*,' by G. S. Freeman. September: 'The Welsh Political Programme,' by D. Lloyd-George. Most important educationally. 'Instead of Conscription,' by J. B. Atkins. Compulsory physical training. 'The Author of *Erewhon*,' by D. MacCarthy. Samuel Butler's life-work. 'The Abbé Loisy and Mr. Beeby,' by P. Gardner. 'In the *Hibbert* article Mr. Beeby is really emphasizing one of the main lines of Christian orthodoxy, while the Bishop [of Worcester] stands perilously near the position of the Docetæ!' 'The Sad Case of the Free Church of Scotland,' by A. Birrell. 'Italian Novels of To-day,' by L. Gropallo. 'Algy,' by A. Ponsonby. A severe criticism of a well-known type. 'The Closing of the Highland Mountains,' by E. A. Baker. Important.

*The Jewish Quarterly Review* (Vol. XVI. No. 64. July 1904. Macmillan and Co.). 'Spanish Service-Books [Hebrew] in the British Museum,' by G. Margoliouth. Especially MS. Brit. Mus. Or. 5866, with notes on Or. 1424: Add. 18690; 20747; 27126. 'The Jews and the English Law, VI.,' by H. S. Q. Henriques. 'Genizah Studies, I. Geonic Responsa,' by L. Ginsberg. Prints Frag. Brit. Mus. Ta, T<sup>b</sup>. 'Professor Harnack's *What is Christianity?*' by A. Wolf. 'The Arabic Portion of the Cairo Genizah at Cambridge, VI.,' by H. Hirschfeld. 'The Mechilta to Deuteronomy,' by S. Schechter. 'Some Spanish Documents: I. Early Spanish Shetarot; II. A Marrano Pedigree,' by

R. J. H. Gottheil. 'The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela, II.,' by M. N. Adler. Hebrew text and translation. 'Allgemeine Einleitung in die Jüdische Literatur des Mittelalters, II.,' by M. Steinschneider. 'Ibn Hazm über Jüdische Secten,' by S. Poznanski. Notes and corrections to Dr. Hirschfeld's recent articles by D. Yellin, and to Dr. Schechter's by himself.

*The Expository Times* (Vol. XV. Nos. 10-12. July-September 1904. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark). 'H. A. Redpath, *New Theory as to Divine Names in the Pentateuch* (Am. J. Th. April 1904).' 'F. C. Burkitt, *The Early Church and the Synoptic Gospels* (J. T. S. April 1904).' 'W. R. Inge, *Faith and Knowledge* (noticed also August).' 'A. T. Wilkinson, *Is Christianity True?*' 'A. B. Davidson, *Theology of the Old Testament*,' by J. A. Selbie. 'A. Jeremias, *Das Alte Testament im Lichte des alten Orients*.' 'The Need of Prophets,' by B. Whiteford. An ordination sermon. 'Writings of A. B. Davidson,' by J. Strachan. A most valuable bibliography. 'R. Adamson, *Development of Modern Philosophy*.' 'Chamberlin, *Introduction to the Bible for Teachers of Children*.' 'Workman and Pope, *Letters of John Hus*.' 'L. A. Pooler, *Studies in the Religion of Israel*.' 'The Poetry and the Wit of Jeremia,' by D. M. Tod. 'St. Paul's Infirmary, I,' (concluded September), by W. M. Alexander. Detailed argument for Malta Fever. 'The Confusion of Tongues,' by M. D. Gibson. 'The Hittites of Southern Palestine,' by A. H. Sayce. 'The Anointing of David,' by J. E. Roberts. 'The Unjust Steward,' by A. N. Bogle. 'Resen (Gen. x. 12),' by E. Nestle. '"Mice" and "Emerods,"' by G. J. Dann. 'Raka,' by Fr. Sydney. 'Jerahmeel,' by J. A. Selbie. 'Unscientific Points of View in the Babel-Bibel Controversy,' by E. König. August: 'A. A. Brockington, *Parables of the Way*.' 'Prof. G. B. Gray on *Biblical Study and Travel in Palestine*.' 'H. H. Henson, *The Value of the Bible*.' 'Isaiah's Vision of the Blood-stained Conqueror of Edom.' 'The New Oxyrhynchus Sayings,' by H. B. Swete. A valuable discussion. 'Love's Offering,' by W. M. Rankin. 'Spiegelberg, *Der Aufenthalt Israels in Aegypten im Lichte der ägyptischen Monumente*,' by F. Ll. Griffith. 'Waitz, *Die pseudoklementinen Homilien*,' by J. G. Tasker. 'The "Note-Line" in Hebrew,' by J. A. Selbie. Notes foreign criticisms. 'The Theology of St. John. I, The Knowledge of God,' by G. G. Findlay. 'Literary Illustrations of the Sermon on the Mount,' by J. Moffatt. 'Merodach, Noah, Gihon, Ari,' by A. H. Sayce. 'Bishop Lightfoot and Professor Ramsay on Early Calendars,' by M. A. Power, S.J. 'T. V. Tymms, *The Christian Idea of the Atonement*.' 'The greatest modern book on the Atonement.' 'Peake, *The Problem of Suffering in the Old Testament*.' 'Hastie, *Theology of the Reformed Church*.' 'C. S. Dougall, *The Burns Country*.' 'James Adderley, *Epistle of St. James*.' 'Mr. Adderley is our modern St. James.' 'Stade-Schwally, *The Books of Kings*.' 'T. H. Weir, *The Shaikhs of Morocco*.' 'W. Herrmann, *Faith and Morals*.' 'The Woe on Chorazin, Bethsaida, and Capernaum,' and 'Anise' and 'Rue,' by E. Nestle. 'The Homily of Pseudo-Clement,' by C. Taylor. 'Harper, *Code of Hammurabi*,' by S. A. Cook. 'Dom Butler, *Lausiac History of Palladius*,' by J. O. Hannay. September. 'Professor J. H. B. Masterman on the Atonement (H. J. July 1904).' 'Mr. L. Zangwill on the Christ of the Gospels.' 'The Wise Woman of Tekoa.' 'Peter 'the Venerable' of Cluny,' by G. Grützmacher. 'Atonement in Christ,' by W. T. A. Barber. 'H. von Schubert, *Grundzüge der Kirchengeschichte*' and 'H. Gunkel, *Ausgewählte Psalmen*,' by J. S. Banks. 'The Rendering of 34 in the New Testament,' by H. G. Miller. 'Discoveries in Palestine,' by A. H. Sayce.



'A. T. Clay, *Business Documents of Murashû sons*,' by C. H. W. Johns. More cuneiform. 'A. H. McNeile, *Ecclesiastes*.' 'A. E. Gregory, *The Hymn-Book of the Modern Church* (Fernley Lecture).' 'P. Sidney, *Gunpowder Plot*.' 'Hebrew and Arabic in Roman Type,' by J. B. Ansted. 'The first English Example of "Biblia,"' by E. Nestle. 'Writings of A. B. Davidson,' by J. A. Paterson. In reply to Mr. Strachan.

*The Edinburgh Review* (No. 409. July 1904. Longmans). 'France in Africa.' 'The Diary of Sir John Moore.' 'Life in the Universe.' Reviews 'A. R. Wallace, *Man's Place in the Universe*.' 'The History of Magic during the Christian Era.' An interesting study. 'England in the Mediterranean.' 'Matthew Arnold and Insularity.' 'The Cambridge Modern History.' Deals with 'Vol. II., *The Reformation*.' 'The Pathway to Reality.' Mr. Haldane's Gifford Lectures. 'Sir John Davis.' A sixteenth-century Wykehamist. 'The Liquor Laws and the Licensing Bill.'

*The Quarterly Review* (No. 399. July 1904. John Murray). 'The Meaning of Literary History,' by O. Elton. Reviews 'Courthope, *History of English Poetry*,' and 'Saintsbury, *Short History of English Literature*.' 'Giotto and Early Italian Art.' Worth reading. 'Recent Lights on Ancient Egypt.' A valuable study of recent works. 'European Thought in the Nineteenth Century,' by J. R. Mozley. 'Gaston Paris,' by W. P. Ker. 'The Sleeping Sickness,' by E. Ray Lankester. With Diagrams. 'The Laws of the Anglo-Saxons.' Notices recent German works. 'The Novels of Sir A. Conan Doyle.' 'The Tsar.' Bitterly hostile. 'Herbert Spencer,' by A. S. Pringle-Pattison. 'The Japanese Revolution.'

*The Classical Review* (Vol. XVIII. No. 6. July 1904. David Nutt). 'Fragments of an Epitome of Livy discovered at Oxyrhynchus,' by J. S. Reid. 'Plato and Minucius Felix,' by P. Shorey. 'Luscinia,' by E. W. Fay. The nightingale in European literature. 'Sandys, *History of Classical Scholarship*, II.,' by A. Gudeman. 'Oakesmith, *Religion of Plutarch*,' by W. H. D. Rouse. 'Gifford's *Eusebii Evangelicæ Præparationis Libri XV.*,' by H. F. Stewart. 'Zeus, Jupiter, and the Oak' (*continued*), by A. B. Cook. 'Recent Excavations in Rome,' by T. Ashby, jun.

*The Contemporary Review* (Nos. 463-465. July-September 1904. Horace Marshall). 'A Visit to Victor Hugo,' by H. Vacaresco. 'The Religious Situation in France,' by P. Passy. Interesting. 'The Religion of the Schoolboy,' by 'A Schoolboy.' In reply to Mr. H. V. Weisse (*C. R.* May 1904). 'Maurus Jokai and the Historical Novel,' by H. W. V. Temperley. 'The Extinction of the Londoner,' by E. Digby. Discusses Dr. Cantlie's statement that 'he had never discovered a family completely London in birth and living which had survived into the third generation.' 'Religious Toleration in China, II., Mohammedanism,' by W. G. Walshe. 'E. Boutmy, *The English People* (E. T.),' 'Reich, *Success among Nations*,' 'Maeterlinck, *The Double Garden*,' by 'A Reader.' August: 'The Russo-Japanese War and the Yellow Peril,' by Ivanovich. 'Verhaeren as a Dramatist,' by G. Brandes. 'Humanity Measured by Jesus Christ,' by D. Macfadyen. 'The Reform of Poor Law Administration,' by F. H. Burrow. 'New Triumphs for Arbitration,' by Sir T. Barclay. 'Animals at Rome,' by Countess E. Martinengo Cesaresco. 'Authority in Religion,' by A. E. Garvie. 'Concession, Compromise, and Concordat,' by J. Massie. 'The Revelation of the East,' by A. M. Stewart. 'What will Japan become?' 'B. L. P. Weale, *Manchu and Muscovite*,' A. Ular, *A Russo-Chinese Empire*,

'A. Bain, *Autobiography*,' 'Cambridge Modern History. VIII., *The French Revolution*,' by 'A Reader.' September: 'The Red Cross Society of Japan,' by O. Eltzbacher. 'The Small Industries of France,' by E. Givskov. 'The "Self-Assertion" of Jesus, I.,' by D. S. Cairns. 'Theodor Herzl,' by S. Whitman. 'The Nature of Literature, I.,' by V. Lee. 'The Religion of the Errand Boy,' by C. B. Penny. Slight but lifelike. 'The Christian Theory of Creation,' by E. M. Caillard. 'Elementary Religious Instruction: the Symbolic Method,' by S. Udny. Teaching through familiar objects in Nature. 'W. L. Courtney, *Development of Maeterlinck and other Sketches*,' 'E. Lawless, *Maria Edgeworth*,' 'G. Cowell, *Life and Letters of E. B. Cowell*,' by 'A Reader.'

*The Catholic World* (Vol. LXXIX. Nos. 472-4. July-September 1904. New York). 'The Recommendation of Catholicism,' by J. McSorley. 'H. J. von Mallinckrodt,' by G. F. Weibel, S.J. 'The Sculpture at St. Louis,' by Z. F. Dunlop. Well illustrated. 'Modern Electricity and Orthodoxy,' by J. J. Walsh. Ampère, Coulomb, Ohm, Clerk Maxwell, Kelvin, as Christians and Scientists. 'The Story of a Famous Church,' by B. St. John. *The Vieille Église des Carmes*, Paris. 'Immigration Problems,' by J. C. Monaghan. 'The Mosely Commission Report, II.' Reviews: 'J. T. Driscoll, *Philosophy of Theism*.' 'J. Turmel, *Histoire de la Théologie Positive*.' 'McNabb, *Oxford Conferences on Prayer*.' 'Cardinal Vaughan, *The Young Priest*.' Rightly critical. August: 'Mgr. Nozalea and the Anti-clericals of Spain' (continued September), by W. M. Drum, S.J. 'A Mission in Africa.' In East Uganda. Well illustrated. The Cathedral of SS. Peter and Paul at Nsambya must be one of the most remarkable in existence. 'Abbot Gasquet, O.S.B.,' by E. L. Taunton. 'French Home Life in the Fourteenth Century,' by D. Dale. 'Present Conditions in the Anglican Church' (continued September). Severely critical. Reviews: 'A. St. H. Gibbons, *Africa from South to North through Marotseland*.' 'M. D. Petre, *Where Saints have Trod. Some Studies in Asceticism*.' 'H. Thurston, S.J., *Lent and Holy Week*.' An inadequate notice of a valuable book. 'E. de W. Burton and S. Mathews, *Principles and Ideals for the Sunday School*.' By two Professors at Chicago University. 'E. L. Thomas, *The Early Story of Israel*.' 'Admirable.' September: 'American Principles versus Secular Education,' by T. F. Woodlock. 'Absolute and Relative Efficiency,' by J. C. Monaghan. Discusses Mr. Mackinder in *Geographical Journal*, April 1904. 'Richard Baxter,' by D. Baxter. 'R. Southwell: Poet, Priest, and Martyr,' by K. Brégy. 'Mission Work in Paris,' by B. de Courson. Reviews: 'Mallock, *The Veil of the Temple*.' 'Letters of Lord Acton.' 'W. Barry, *Newman*.' 'R. Freddi, S.J., *The Word Incarnate*.' 'On such problems as the vespertine and matutine knowledge of the heavenly hosts, and the non-phantasmal nature of angelic cognition, the book contains information hard to find elsewhere.' We should like to see that book.

*The Monthly Review* (Nos. 46-48. July-September 1904. John Murray). 'The Place of Latin and Greek in Human Life,' by J. W. Mackail. Address to the Classical Association, Oxford, May 1904. 'The Navy and Classical Education,' by Admiral Sir Cyprian Bridge. A spirited defence. 'The Questionable Shapes of Nathaniel Hawthorne,' by M. E. Coleridge. 'Japan and the Policy of a "White Australia,"' by A. Stead. Important. 'English Music: a Practical Scheme,' by R. Bridges. 'Julian Sturgis,' by P. Lubbock and A. C. Benson. 'Four Sonnets,' by W. J. de la Mare. Why compare Science to a pig? 'Recent Excavations at Carthage,' by M. Moore; 'in Ægina,' by Baroness A. von

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Schneider. Well illustrated. 'Mallock, *The Veil of the Temple*,' by the Editor. August: 'G. F. Watts,' by Mrs. Ady. 'The Place of War in the World's Life,' by F. N. Maude. 'What I saw in Thibet,' by W. C. J. Reid. 'The New Japan,' by Count Okuma. 'The Case for the Congo Officials,' by R. A. Durand. 'The Cancer Problem of To-day,' by J. E. S. Moore. 'Under which King?' by D. C. Pedder. A dialogue. 'Seed-Corn for Stories,' by B. Matthews. 'The Romantic School in France,' by M. E. Coleridge. 'Pictorial Relics of Third-century Christianity,' by A. C. Taylor. In S. Maria Maggiore. Illustrated. 'George Gissing,' by H. G. Wells. 'Duckworth's *Popular Library of Art*,' Townsend, *Life and Letters of the Great Earl of Cork*,' 'Lee Warner, *Life of the Marquis of Dalhousie*,' 'Churton Collins, *Studies in Shakespeare*,' by the Editor. September: 'Church v. State: the Real French View,' by L. Jerrold. 'German Dreams and the Downfall of England,' by R. B. Marston. Reviews 'A. Niemann, *Der Weltkrieg Deutsche Träume*,' 'Physical Training and National Development,' by A. Ravenhill. 'Suggestions on the Origin of the Gospels. I., St. Mark,' by A. S. Barnes. A noteworthy but unconvincing suggestion that 'Cornelius and his friends were the true originators of the Gospel of St. Mark.' 'The Romance of Coinage,' by T. A. Cook. Illustrated. 'The Popular Poetry of Spain,' by P. de San Carlos. 'Thackeray at Cambridge, by (the late) Whitwell Elwin. 'Rennert, *Life of Lope de Vega*,' 'Legge, *Land and Sea Pieces*,' by the Editor.

*The English Historical Review* (Vol. XIX. No. 75. July 1904. Longmans). 'The Early Norman Castles of England, II.,' by E. S. Armitage. 'Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, III.' The 'History of the Rebellion,' by C. H. Firth. 'Frederick York Powell,' by R. S. Rait. 'Sources of the Early Patrician Documents,' by J. B. Bury. Materials used by Tírechán and Muirchú. 'Correspondence of Humphrey Duke of Gloucester and Pier Candido Decembrio,' by M. Borsa. From MSS. Bibl. Flor. Riccard. 827, Ambr. i. 235 inf., Brit. Mus. Harl. 1705. 'The English and Latin Versions of a Peterborough Court Leet, 1461,' by M. Bateson. A most quaint document. 'Correspondence of Archbishop Herring and Lord Hardwicke during the Revolution of 1745, I.,' by R. Garnett. Reviews: 'Hammond, *Outlines of Comparative Politics*,' by H. W. C. Davis. 'T. Schreiber, *Studien über das Bildniss Alexanders des Grossen*,' by D. G. Hogarth. 'C. F. Rogers, *Baptism and Christian Archaeology*,' by H. M. Bannister. 'G. Schnürer, *Die ursprüngliche Templerregel*,' by A. G. Little. 'A. Schulte, *Geschichte des mittelalterlichen Handels u. Verkehrs zwischen Westdeutschland und Italien mit Ausschluss von Venedig*,' by F. Keutgen. A large and valuable book. 'E. Moore, *Studies in Dante*, Third Series,' by W. P. Ker. 'J. T. Fowler, *Extracts from the Account Rolls of the Abbey of Durham*,' by A. R. Malden. 'J. E. G. de Montmorency, *State Intervention in English Education*,' by H. Rashdall. 'Royce, *Landboc sive Registrum Monasterii B. M. V. et Sancti Cénhelmi de Winchelcumba*,' by R. L. Poole. 'Thuasne, *Roberti Gaguini Epistole et Orationes*,' by P. S. Allen. 'J. S. Corbett, *England in the Mediterranean*,' by C. H. Firth. 'Maurice, *Diary of Sir John Moore*,' by E. M. Lloyd. 'W. H. Hutton, *The English Saints*.' 'H. B. Workman, *The Dawn of the Reformation*, II., The Age of Hus.'

*The Economic Review* (Vol. XIV. No. 3. July 1904. Rivingtons). 'Upon Things concerning Civic and Social Work that may be learnt in Charity Organization,' by W. A. Bailward. 'The Question of Chinese Labour,' by H. Kirke. Favourable. 'Our Savings Banks,' by H. W. Wolff. Severe criticisms of

Treasury methods. 'Marshall, *The New Cambridge Curriculum in Economics*,' by A. J. Jenkinson. 'The Identification of Tramps,' by M. Higgs. 'The Temperance Movement in Germany,' by H. W. Wolff. 'Infantile Mortality and its Remedies,' by J. T. Dodd. 'H. Sidgwick, *Development of European Policy*, by R. S. Rait. 'R. P. Shepherd, *Turgot and the Six Edicts*.' Numerous other works on Economic and Temperance Questions.

*Revue Biblique Internationale* (New Series, I. 3. July 1904. Paris: Lecoffre). E. Revillout: 'L'Évangile des XII Apôtres, II.' A. van Hoonacker: 'Le caractère littéraire des deux premiers chapitres de Joël' and 'Joël, I. 17.' With emendations. A. Condamin, S. J.: 'Transpositions justifiées dans le texte des Prophètes.' (i.) Is. v. 26-30 *before* viii. 20 b; (ii.) Jer. iii. 19-21 *after* iii. 13; (iii.) The poems of Is. xl. ff. *Mélanges*: T. Macridy-Bey: 'Le Temple d'Echmoun à Sidon' (*suite*). A. Jaussen, R. Savignac, H. Vincent: 'Abdeh.' Both beautifully illustrated. Chronique: A. Jaussen: 'Fondation et restauration de sanctuaires à l'orient de la Palestine.' H. V[incen]t: 'Fouilles anglaises à Gêzer.' Recensions: L. de Grandmaison: 'A. Loisy, *Le Quatrième Évangile*,' T. Calmes, *L'Évangile selon Saint Jean*,' Drummond, *The Fourth Gospel*,' V. H. Stanton, *The Gospels as Historical Documents*,' A. Deiber: 'Schmidt, *Acta Pauli*,' P. Lacau, *Fragments d'Apocryphes coptes de la Bibliothèque Nationale*.' M. J. Lagrange: 'Hauck, *Realencyclopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*.' Bulletin: M. J. Lagrange: 'Rahmani, *Studia Syriaca*,' Lepin, *Jésus Messie et Fils de Dieu*,' Bonaccorsi, *I tre primi Vangeli e la critica letteraria*,' Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Litteratur*,' S. R. Driver, *Genesis* (very favourable); 'Cheyne, *Psalms*.' ('Aussi ne peut-on que s'écrier avec le psalmiste de M. Cheyne: "Preserve me, my God, from the tribe of the Arabians, From the race of the Jerahmeelites rescue. thou me"—Ps. xlii. 6 f.') 'V. Scheil, *Textes élamites-anzanites*,' Barnabé, *Le tombeau de la Sainte Vierge à Jérusalem*': a long topographical and critical discussion.

*Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* (1904. No. 2. Paris: Picard). H. Lammens: 'Correspondances diplomatiques entre les sultans mamlouks d'Égypte et les puissances chrétiennes.' Based on Al-Qalqasandî. P. de Meester: 'Le dogme de l'Immaculée Conception et la doctrine de l'Église grecque, II.' F. Tournèbe: 'Histoire politique et religieuse de l'Arménie' (*suite*). L. Clugnet: 'Office de sainte Marine. Texte syriaque.' *Mélanges*: L. Bréhier: 'Un patriarche sorcier à Constantinople.' John Hyllias, *deposed* A.D. 843. F. Nau: 'Maronites, Mazonites et Maranites.' H. Lammens: 'Dennaba de sainte Silvie et Dunip des monuments égyptiens.' The Tell el-'Amârna tablets and the *Peregrinatio Siluiae*. F. Nau: 'Evetts, *History of the Patriarchs of the Coptic Church of Alexandria*, I.'; 'Rahmani, *Studia Syriaca*,' E. W. Brooks, *Select Letters of Severus of Antioch*,' Hobeika, *Témoignages de l'Église Maronite*.' H. Lammens: 'Blochet, *Le Messianisme dans l'hétérodoxie musulmane*,' Schnürer, *Die ursprüngliche Templerregel*.' A. Gastoué: 'Aubry, *Le Rythme tonique dans la Poesie liturgique et dans le chant des Églises chrétiennes au moyen âge*.' L. Clugnet: 'A. Sargent-Galichon, *Sinai, Maan, Pétra. Sur les traces d'Israël et chez les Nabatéens*.'

*Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* (Vol. V. No. 3. July 1904. Louvain). C. van Crombrughe: 'La doctrine christologique et sotériologique de saint Augustin dans ses rapports avec le néo-platonisme, II.' P. de Puniet: 'Les trois homélies catéchétiques du sacramentaire gélasien pour la tradition des

Évangiles, du Symbole et de l'Oraison dominicale, I.' G. Mollat : 'Jean XXII (1316-1334) fut-il un avare? I.' J. Vermaut : 'A. Wright, *Synopsis of the Gospels in Greek*.' A lengthy criticism. E. Remy : 'Papers of the British School at Rome, Vol. I.' 'Fait bien augurer de l'avenir de l'école naissante.' P. de Parry : Michel, 'Gebet und Bild in frühchristlicher Zeit.' R. Maere : 'Wilpert, *Le Pitture delle Catacombe Romane*' [a most important work, but costing 15l. !], and 'Ghignoni, *Il pensiero cristiano nell'Arte (sec. II-V)*.' C. Hontoir : 'Hort and Mayor, *Clement of Alexandria, Miscellanies, Book VII*.' 'Un modèle de critique pénétrante et mesurée.' W. H. Andrew : 'Crum, *Coptic Ostraca*' and 'A. J. Butler, *Arab Conquest of Egypt*.' Two long and favourable reviews. J. Simon : 'E. A. D'Alton, *History of Ireland to 1547, Vol. I*.' J. Warichez : 'Bayet, Pfister et Kleinclausz, *Le Christianisme, les Barbares—Mérovingiens et Carolingiens* (in Lavis, *Histoire de France*).' 'L. van der Essen : 'Hartmann, *Geschichte Italiens im Mittelalter*, I.' A. Cauchie : 'A. Solmi, *Stato e Chiesa da Carlomagno fino al Concordato di Worms (800-1122)*.' Twenty-five pages. J. Simon : 'Deslandres, *L'Ordre des Trinitaires pour le Rachat des Captifs*.' E. Tobac : 'Rott, *Friedrich II. von der Pfalz und die Reformation*.' A. de Meester : 'H. H. Spink, jr. *The Gunpowder Plot*.' Dom Simon contributes an interesting chronicle of recent events and publications in England.

*Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature religieuses* (Vol. IX. No. 4. July-August 1904. Paris). S. Reinach : 'Les apôtres chez les anthropophages.' A study of the extraordinary apocryphal Acts of Andrew and Mathias. P. Richard : 'Une correspondance diplomatique de la Curie romaine à la veille de Marignan (1515), III.' M. H. Hemmer notices recent works on the 'Concordat' and 'Marin, *Mgr. Midon, évêque d'Osaka* († 1893)' [noteworthy for Japanese Missions]. J. Pasquier : 'Baudrillart, *L'Église catholique, la Renaissance, le Protestantisme*.' P. Lejay : 'Ancienne Philologie Chrétienne.' Most valuable list of books, articles, &c. The *Journal of Theological Studies* 'est une des meilleures revues de théologie historique et scientifique, peut-être à tout prendre la meilleure . . . elle s'est placée immédiatement parmi les plus hautes publications de ce clergé anglicain, si savant, si grave, si digne de faire partie de l'âme de l'Église.'

*Bulletin de Littérature Ecclésiastique* (Nos. 6-7. June-July 1904. Paris : Lecoffre). 'Lettre de S. S. Pie X.' To the Chancellor of the University of Toulouse, praising its efforts 'adversus quorundam temeritatem, plus nimio humane rationi iudicioque tribuentium.' G. Michelet : 'Kant en France, d'après M. P. von Schanz.' J. Annat : 'Les revisions du texte de Maldonat, d'après un document inédit.' In the Archives of Santa-Casa de Loyola. 'Thèses de doctorat.' 'Calmes, *L'Évangile selon saint Jean*.' 'Besse, *Essais de critique philosophique*.' 'Klein, *Quelques motifs d'espérer*.'

*Teologisk Tidsskrift* (Vol. V. No. 5. Kjöbenhavn, 1904). T. Hansen : 'Om Jakobs Brev og hans Gerning i Israels Folk.' A. Holm : 'Svenska Kyrkan, 1903-1904.' C. T. Lund : 'O. R. Hansen, *Evangelierne som Kilder til Jesu Liv*.' F. Torm : 'F. Petersen, *Romerbrevet praktisk fortolket*.' A. G. S. Prior : 'J. Jensen, *Loeren om Kristi Nedfart til de Døde*.' A. Levinson : 'Et Indlaeg i Anledning af P. O. Ryberg Hansen, "*Evangelierne som Kilder til Jesu Liv*."'

*The East and the West* (Vol. II. No. 7. July 1904. S.P.G.). 'The Use of Ritual in Missionary Churches,' by the Bishop of Zanzibar. Excellent.

'Easy Reading for Illiterate Chinese,' by C. F. Gordon-Cumming. The extraordinary story of Mr. Hill Murray's system. 'The Aliens Question,' by Bishop Montgomery. 'The Peoples of India and Christianity,' by Dr. G. Smith. Facts and figures. 'The Buddhist Revival in Ceylon,' by G. B. Ekanayake. 'Worship in a Chinese Joss-House,' by A. Beanlands. 'Missions of the Assyrian Christians,' by A. H. Lang. 'Some Problems of the London Ghetto,' by J. B. Rust. Editorial Notes. Reviews: 'D. Kidd, *The Essential Kaffir*.' 'H. P. Beach, *India and Christian Opportunity*.' 'H. Moore, *The Christian Faith in Japan*.' 'F. Awdry, *Daylight for Japan*.' 'H. L. Duff, *Nyasaland under the Foreign Office*.' 'W. E. P. du Bois, *The Negro Church*.' 'T. J. Hudson, *The Evolution of the Human Soul*.' 'Grundemann, *Neuer Missions-Atlas*.'

## BOOKS RECEIVED.

The more important will be reviewed or noticed in Articles as space permits.

## OLD TESTAMENT.

BATTERBURY, H. C.—*Handbook to the Pentateuch*. Vol. II. The Departure from Egypt to the Death of Moses. For the use of Students and Teachers. Pp. xix + 298. (Rivingtons.) 2s. 6d. net.

EVANS, C. (The late).—*Notes on the Psalter: Extracts of Parallel Passages from the Prayer Book, Septuagint, and Vulgate Versions*. Pp. vi + 164. (John Murray.) 7s. 6d. net.

GREENWOOD, G.—*The Book of Genesis treated as an Authentic Record*. Vol. I. The Adamic and the Noachic Narratives. Second edition, with a Preface on Dr. Driver's work '*The Book of Genesis*.' Pp. 244. (London: Church Printing Co.) 5s.

KENT, C. F.—*Narratives of the Beginnings of Hebrew History from the Creation to the Establishment of the Hebrew Kingdom*. With Maps and Chronological Chart. Pp. xxxvi + 382. (Hodder and Stoughton.) 12s. net.

M'NEILE, A. H.—*An Introduction to Ecclesiastes*. With Notes and Appendices. Pp. viii + 170. (Cambridge University Press.) 7s. 6d. net.

OTTLEY, R. R.—*The Book of Isaiah according to the Septuagint (Codex Alexandrinus)*. I. Introduction and Translation, with a Parallel Version from the Hebrew. Pp. xii + 336. (Cambridge University Press.) 5s. net.

## NEW TESTAMENT.

JOHNSON, J. B.—*A Commentary on the Revelation of St. John*. Pp. vi + 266. (Skeffington.) 7s. 6d. net.

THOMPSON, E. SYMES.—*On the Physical Cause of the Death of Christ*. Pp. 24. (S.P.C.K.) 2d.

## PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION.

FLEMING, J. A.—'The Evidence of Things not seen.' I., from Nature; II., from Revelation. Pp. 78. (S.P.C.K.) 6d.

GALLOWAY, G.—*Studies in the Philosophy of Religion*. Pp. vi + 328. (Edinburgh: Blackwood.) 7s. 6d. net.

*Ideals of Science and Faith*. Essays by various Authors. Edited by J. E. HAND. Pp. xx + 334. (George Allen.) 5s. net. The Authors include Sir Oliver Lodge, Professor Geddes, Fr. Waggett, and Mr. Wilfrid Ward.

*Man and his Environment: Thoughts of a Thinker*. Collected and edited by his friend J. P. KINGSLAND. Pp. viii + 370. (John Murray.) 7s. 6d. net.



## CHURCH HISTORY.

BROOKS, E. W.—*The Sixth Book of the Select Letters of Severus, Patriarch of Antioch, in the Syriac Version of Athanasius of Nisibis*. Vol. II. (Translation), Part II. (Text and Translation Society.) Pp. viii + 231-480. (Williams and Norgate.)

BURKITT, F. C.—*Early Eastern Christianity: the Syriac-speaking Church*. St. Margaret's Lectures, 1904. Pp. xii + 228. (John Murray.) 6s. net.

COCHRANE, M.—*An Important Chapter in English Church History*. Pp. 32. (S.P.C.K.) The story of the S.P.C.K. (1698-1904).

EVETTS, B.—*History of the Patriarchs of the Coptic Church of Alexandria. I. Saint Mark to Theonas (300)*. Arabic text translated and annotated. 'Patrologia Orientalis,' I., 2. Pp. 103-214. (Paris: Firmin-Didot.) By subscription.

## DOCTRINAL THEOLOGY AND APOLOGETIC.

BENSON, R. M. (S.S.J.E.)—*The Virgin Birth of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ*. A Paper read (in part) before the Norwich Branch of the English Church Union. Pp. 38. (Norwich: A. H. Goose.) 3d. See Article.

COMPER, J.—*Church Principles; or, the Scriptural Teaching of the British Churches*. With a Preface by R. M. BENSON, S.S.J.E., and a Memoir by J. WISEMAN. Pp. xl + 192. (Elliot Stock.) 5s.

HENSLow, G.—*Present-Day Rationalism critically Examined*. Pp. xii + 378. (Hodder and Stoughton.) 6s.

MASTERMAN, J. H. B.—*Was Jesus Christ Divine?* Pp. xvi + 104. (Wells Gardner.) 9d.

MAURICE, F. D.—*Theological Essays*. Pp. 124. (Macmillan.) 6d. A popular reprint.

*The Religious Doubts of Democracy*. Edited by G. HAW. Pp. vi + 118. (Macmillan.) 6d. Essays by G. W. E. Russell, Miss Benson, Dr. Tisdall, W. C. Allen, F. R. Tennant, G. K. Chesterton, and many others.

## LITURGICA.

WORDSWORTH, CHR., and LITTLEHALES, H.—*The Old Service-Books of the English Church*. 'The Antiquary's Books.' Pp. xvi + 320. (Methuen.) 7s. 6d. net.

## SERMONS AND ADDRESSES.

ACLAND-TROYTE, R.—*The Church and Modern Society*. Sermons preached at St. Andrew's, Pau. Pp. viii + 90. (Skeffington.) 2s. 6d.

BUTLER, W. J. (the late Very Rev.)—*Sermons for Working Men*. 'The Oxford Sermon Library,' vol. ii. Edited by VERNON STALEY. Pp. xxiv + 298. (Oxford: Mowbray.) 2s. 6d. net. A welcome addition to an interesting series.

CROSS, W. J.—*'The Master is Come.'* A series of Plain Sermons preached at Wymondham, Norfolk. Pp. viii + 136. (Skeffington.) 2s. 6d.

DUNCAN, J.—*The Psalm of Life*. Expository Sermons on Psalm XXIII. Pp. viii + 62. (Skeffington.) 1s. 6d.

EDWARDS, JONATHAN.—*Selected Sermons*. Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by H. N. GARDINER. Pp. xxxii + 182. (New York and London: Macmillan.) 1s. net.

HANCOCK, T. (The late).—*The Pulpit and the Press*. And other Sermons, most of which were preached at St. Nicholas Cole Abbey. Pp. viii + 298. (S. C. Brown Langham.) 6s.

——— *The Return to the Father*. Seven Sermons on a Part of the Parable of the Prodigal Son, preached at St. Stephen's, Lewisham. With a Preface by J. W. HORSLEY. Pp. 116. (S. C. Brown Langham.) 2s. 6d.

JAMES, M. H.—*God and His Witnesses*. Pp. x + 132. (Skeffington.) 2s. 6d.

MORTIMER, A. G.—*The Church's Lessons for the Christian Year, being One Hundred and Twenty Sermons*. Vol. I. Advent to the Fifth Sunday after Easter. Vol. II. The Ascension Day to the Sunday next before Advent. Pp. xviii + 410, xiv + 354. (Skeffington.) 12s. net.

PENTIN, H.—*The First Book of the Acts*. A Series of Devotional Addresses bearing on the Primitive Church delivered in Milton Abbey, Dorset. Pp. viii + 98. (Skeffington.) 2s. 6d.

TEMPLE, H.—*Trinity in Unity*. Four Lectures on certain Aspects of the Athanasian Creed, its Truth and its Sanctions, preached in York Minster. Pp. vii + 48. (Longmans.) 1s. net.

TUCKER, A. B.—*The Life of the World*. Brief Meditations on the Great Discourse recorded in St. John vi. Pp. 64. (London: 'Church Bells' Office.) 2s. net.

#### PRACTICAL THEOLOGY.

C. C. G.—*Bible Readings, 1904*. Eighteenth Sunday after Trinity to Septuagesima. First Series (No. IX.) Pp. 30. (S.P.C.K.) 2d.

CORNELOUP, J. B. C.—*The Story of my Conversion*. Translated from the French by H. E. W. and M. M. Pp. 126. (Religious Tract Society.) 1s. 6d.

FORDE, G. M.—*The King of Love*. A Simple Life of our Lord. With a Preface by W. C. E. NEWBOLT. Pp. x + 164. (Skeffington.) 2s. 6d.

FREEMAN, F. L.—*Religious and Social Work amongst Girls*. With a Prefatory Letter by R. R. DOLLING. Second Impression. Pp. viii + 144. (Skeffington.) 2s. net.

MACNAGHTEN, C.—*Common Thoughts on Serious Subjects, being Plain Words for Boys*. With an Introduction by R. WHITELAW. Pp. xxxvi + 228. (London: The Unit Library.) 2s. 6d. net.

POTTER, J. H., and SHEARD, A. E. W.—*Catechizings for the Church and Sunday Schools*. Series IV. 'The Acts of the Apostles.' Pp. xxiv + 220. (Skeffington.) 2s. net.

PROTHERO, R. E.—*The Psalms in Human Life*. Pp. xii + 416. (John Murray.) 5s. net. To be noticed in an Article.

WILSON, VEN. J. M.—*Notes for one Year's Sunday School Lessons*. For the use of Teachers. Series III. Pp. 120. (S.P.C.K.) 1s.

#### DEVOTIONAL THEOLOGY.

*A Message from the King; being mainly an Explanation of the Sermon on the Mount*. Pp. 40. (Oxford: A. R. Mowbray.) 1s. net.

HITCHCOCK, F. R. M.—*The Mystery of the Cross: Studies in our Lord's Last Mission*. Pp. viii + 196. (Skeffington.) 3s. 6d.

ROWSSELL, M. C.—*Hymns and Narrative Verses for Children*. New Edition. Pp. 30. (S. C. Brown Langham.)

'Seek Me Early': *Faith and Morality simply Illustrated*. By the Compiler of 'Workers together with God.' With a Preface by the BISHOP OF READING. Pp. xii + 168. (Oxford: A. R. Mowbray.) 2s. net.

## MISSIONS.

*For Christ in Fuh-Kien; being a New Edition (the Fourth) of the Story of the Fuh-Kien Mission of the C.M.S.* Pp. viii + 184. Printed for the Society. 2s. 6d. net.

GRIFFIS, W. E.—*Dux Christus: an Outline Study of Japan*. Pp. xiv + 296. (Macmillan.) 1s. 6d. net.

SINKER, W.—*By Reef and Shoal; being an Account of a Voyage amongst the Islands in the South-Western Pacific*. Pp. 64. (S.P.C.K.) 6d. By the Commander of the Melanesian Mission's steamer, 'The Southern Cross.'

STOCK, E.—*A Short Handbook of Missions*. Pp. viii + 214. (Longmans.) 1s. net.

## BIOGRAPHY.

BYRNE, J. R.—*Lives of Light and Leading. Biographical Sketches of some Eminent Divines of the Last Three Centuries*. Pp. 100. (London: 'Church Bells' Office.) 2s. net. Reprinted from *Church Bells*.

COWELL, G.—*Life and Letters of Edward Byles Cowell*. Pp. xii + 480. (Macmillan.) 12s. 6d. net.

## GENERAL LITERATURE.

BARRY, W.—*Heralds of Revolt: Studies in Modern Literature and Dogma*. Pp. xvi + 384. (Hodder and Stoughton.) 7s. 6d. net.

BULLEN, F. T.—*Sea Puritans*. Pp. viii + 366. (Hodder and Stoughton.) 6s.

CAUSTON, J. F.—*The Philanthropist*. Pp. iv + 316. (John Lane.) 6s. One or two fair character studies marred by somewhat ill-natured satire of a Non-conformist body.

ELTON, C. I. (the late).—'William Shakespeare, his Family and Friends.' Edited by A. H. THOMPSON, with Memoir by ANDREW LANG. Pp. x + 522. (John Murray.) 15s. net.

LAWLESS, HON. E.—*Maria Edgeworth*. 'English Men of Letters Series.' Pp. viii + 220. (Macmillan.) 2s. net.

STEELE, R.—*Kings' Letters: From the Early Tudors: With the Letters of Henry VIII. and Anne Boleyn*. 'The King's Classics.' Pp. xviii + 356. (De la More Press.) 2s. 6d. A very pretty and interesting little book.

STEPHEN, SIR LESLIE.—*Hobbes*. 'English Men of Letters Series.' Pp. iv + 244. (Macmillan.) 2s. net.

'VIATOR.'—*The Wayfarer*. Pp. viii + 288. (London: G. J. Palmer and Sons.) A most welcome reprint from the *Church Times*.

WEYMAN, STANLEY J.—*Count Hannibal: a Romance of the Court of France*. Pp. viii + 368. (Smith, Elder and Co.) 6s.

— *The Castle Inn*. Pp. viii + 372. (Smith, Elder and Co.) 6s.

— *The New Rector*. Pp. vi + 344. (Smith, Elder and Co.) 2s. 6d.

— *The Story of Francis Cludde*. Pp. iv + 442. (Cassell and Co.) 3s. 6d.

— *From the Memoirs of a Minister of France*. Pp. vi + 492. (Cassell and Co.) 3s. 6d.

## MISCELLANEOUS.

*The Hundredth Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society for the Year ending March MDCCCIV.* Pp. xvi + 282. Price 1s.

*After a Hundred Years.* A popular illustrated Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society for the Centenary Year 1903-4. Pp. vi + 128. 1s.

BURTON, A.—*A Handbook of Clerical Elocution for the Use of the Clergy, Students, &c.* Pp. vi + 40. (Skeffington.) 1s. net.

BUTT, P. B.—*God and Our Soldiers.* Pp. xvi + 268. (Methuen.) 6s. A record of work in S. Africa during the war.

CHAMBERS, G. F.—*The Tourist's Pocket Book.* Pp. 112. (Hugh Rees.) 1s. 6d. Contains much useful general information.

GEERE, H. V.—*By Nile and Euphrates: a Record of Discovery and Adventure.* With Maps and Illustrations. Pp. xii + 356. (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.) 8s. 6d. net.

GEIL, W. E.—*A Yankee on the Yangtze; being a Narrative of a Journey from Shanghai through the Central Kingdom to Burma.* With one Hundred Full-page Illustrations. Pp. xii + 312. (Hodder and Stoughton.) 6s.

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